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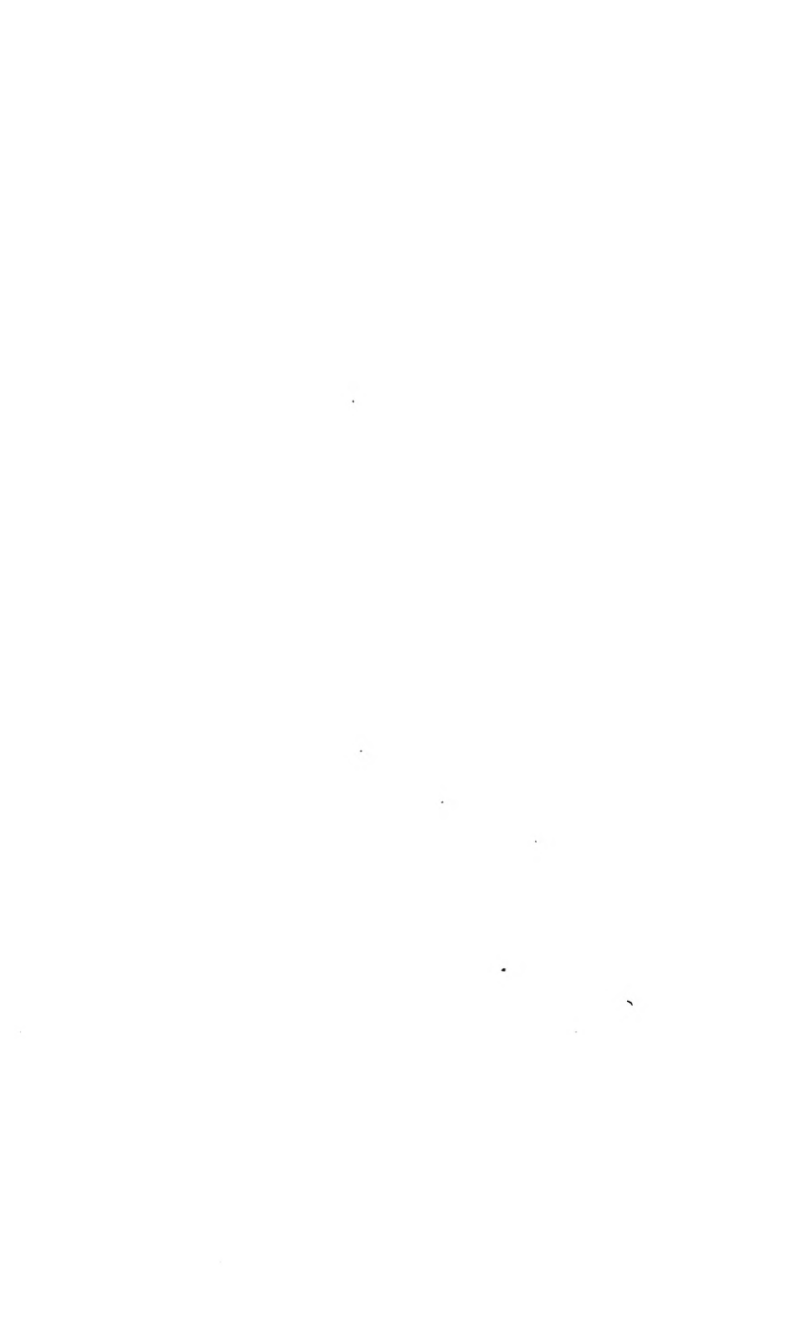
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HISTORICAL SCENES

FROM

THE OLD JESUIT MISSIONS.

HISTORICAL SCENES

FROM THE

OLD JESUIT MISSIONS.

BY THE

RIGHT REV. WM. INGRAHAM KIP, D.D., LL.D.,

MEMBER OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.



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TO
LEONARD KIP,

OF ALBANY, N.Y.,

HIS BROTHER INSCRIBES THIS VOLUME.

P R E F A C E.

MANY years ago, while the writer was in England, the library of the Bishop of Durham was sold. Among the works offered was a set of the *Lettres Édifiantes et Curieuses écrites des Missions Étrangères*, in 47 volumes, containing the letters of the Jesuit Missionaries from about 1650 to 1750. These the writer purchased and brought to this country. On his return, he selected those letters which relate to the labors of the Jesuits within the bounds of our own land ; and published a translation, with notes, under the title of *The Early Jesuit Missions in North America*. As these letters contain the first notices of any intercourse between the white man and the Indians, they have always been regarded as having an historical value.

The missionary labors of the Society of Jesus were, however, spread over the whole world. There was no land where they thought souls could be won for their hire into which they did not penetrate. Their influence was traced in the courts of Oriental despots, and in the depths of Western forests, among

the most savage tribes, and where no white man had been seen before them. From the snows of the North, and the burning heats of the Tropics, —

“From many an ancient river,
From many a palmy plain,” —

their letters were sent back to the old homes they were never themselves again to see, giving strange pictures of tribes of whom the civilized European had never before heard. From Thibet and China and Siam, and the islands of the Indian Archipelago, where Xavier had already laid down his life on the shores of Sancian, — from “India’s coral strand,” and from the centre of Africa, where “Ethiopia was stretching out her hands” for the Bread of Life, — from the desolate wilderness in South America and the ice-bound shores of Hudson’s Bay, — came these reports to the Head of their Order at Rome, telling how his followers “counted not their lives dear unto themselves,” while they pressed on in the path he had marked out for them.

In looking, therefore, over these volumes, — so wide in their range, — the writer has been induced to select for translation some of the letters from opposite sides of the world, giving the contrast of the worn-out civilization of the Eastern empires and the savage life of the wilderness. They are not — if we except those on the mission in Paraguay and

in Lower California — narratives which relate so much to the direct labors of the Jesuits, or illustrate their heroic self-denial, as those which furnish scenes — like the account of the Jewish colony in China, the cruise of the Rhode Island privateer, and the picture of the earthquake at Lima — with which the Fathers were incidentally brought into contact.

Still, we see the same spirit pervading all, and — much as we may differ from them in many of the doctrines they taught — there is a lofty lesson to be learned from their voluntary endurance of those miseries which wasted the heart and wore out the life. In the principles to which they had pledged themselves, they never faltered ; and, whether on the lonely seaside or in the crowded cities of the East, the followers of Loyola seem gladly to have welcomed martyrdom as their highest blessing, and to have been ready to exclaim with St. Francis Xavier : “ If ever I forget thee, O Society of Jesus, may my right hand forget its cunning ! ”

More than a century has passed since these letters were written ; the hands which penned them have long since mouldered into dust, in their forgotten graves on many a distant heathen shore ; yet it seemed to the writer that these articles might furnish a chapter in the history of our race which would interest our readers.

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HISTORICAL SCENES

FROM

THE OLD JESUIT MISSIONS.

I.

THE SYNAGOGUE IN CHINA.

1720.

[AT the close of the seventeenth century the Jesuits in China sent home to Europe the news that, in the centre of China was a colony of Jews, who had resided there for many centuries, preserving the forms of their ancient faith amid the surrounding idolatry. As a mere historical fact, — that Judaism had thus penetrated to the eastern side of Asia, — this was a curious discovery. There was, however, a higher interest connected with it. It was stated that they had a copy of the Pentateuch three thousand years old. If so, it was the oldest copy known, and it would be of inestimable value for collation with our Hebrew Bibles, in determining disputed readings, and might, perhaps, decide some controversies.

It seems to have been forty years before the Jesuits, notwithstanding their repeated efforts, succeeded in obtaining any definite information on this subject. At length, by establishing a mission at *Cai-fong-Fou*, they were brought into immediate contact with these Jews, learned their history, and were permitted to examine their copy of the Pentateuch. Although not believed by the Fathers to have the antiquity claimed for it by those in whose charge it was, still it is one of the oldest extant; and it is a source of satisfaction to learn that a comparison with our

own Hebrew Bible showed no important variations in any of the readings. The article which follows is the account given by one of the Jesuits, gathered from all the different letters of his brethren, and presenting every fact of importance connected with this matter.

There was a similar excitement at the beginning of this century with regard to the Black Jews of India. It was stated that they, too, had copies of the Pentateuch of great antiquity. But in 1807, the Rev. Claudius Buchanan gained access to them, and, in his "Researches in India," he has given a narrative of his visit. He procured some of these manuscripts, — "one of them an old copy of the Books of Moses, written on a roll of leather. The skins are sewed together, and the roll is about forty-eight feet in length." But a comparison with our received Hebrew Bible showed no important differences.

The story of the Synagogue in China is certainly a strange one in a mere literary and historical point of view. It shows the wonderful tenacity of the "peculiar people" in clinging to their faith through so many centuries, in the midst of the outward pressure of idolatry, even when the spirit which once animated their worship had departed, and only the dead forms remained. And now, even this has passed away for ever. When the Jesuit wrote — more than a century ago — it is evident that the colony, confined in the marriages of its members to their own people, was gradually diminishing. Since then, this decrease has been going on, till it has entirely faded away from the earth. In "China and the Chinese," by Rev. John L. Nevins, in 1860, we find this notice of the closing scene: "Connected with this Synagogue were some Hebrew manuscripts, and a few worshippers who retained some of the forms of their religion, but very little of its real character and spirit. The remaining buildings and timbers of the Synagogue have recently been sold; and this little remnant, which has been preserved long enough to afford evidence that Jews and Judaism have reached the extreme limits of the East, will probably soon be extinct."]

Narrative of Father of the Society of Jesus.

THE news of the existence of a synagogue of Jews, established in China for many centuries, was an announcement of the most interesting character to all the scholars of Europe. They indulged the hope that they would be able to find there a copy of the Sacred Scriptures, which would serve to clear up their difficulties and to end their disputes. But Father Ricci, who made this happy discovery, was not able to derive from it the advantages he had hoped. Confined to the City of Pekin by the claims of that Mission, he was not able to go to *Cai-fong-Fou*, the capital of Honan, which is distant nearly two hundred leagues. He was obliged to content himself with questioning a young Jew of that synagogue whom he met at Pekin. He learned from him, that at *Cai-fong-Fou* were to be found ten or twelve families of Israelites, who had come there to establish their synagogue, and that for five or six hundred years they had preserved, with the greatest respect, a very ancient copy of the Pentateuch. Father Ricci immediately showed him a Hebrew Bible. The young Jew recognized the characters; but he could not read it, because he had devoted himself solely to the study of Chinese books, as he aspired to take the degree of Scholar.

The pressing occupations of Father Ricci did not permit him to push this discovery any farther. It was not till three or four years afterwards that he found it convenient to send thither a Chinese Jesuit,

with ample instructions, to verify what he had learned of the young Jew. He gave him a letter in Chinese for the Ruler of the Synagogue, in which he informed him that besides the books of the Old Testament he had also those of the New, which showed that the Messiah, whom they were expecting, had already come. As soon as the Ruler of the Synagogue read what related to the coming of the Messiah, he stopped, and said, "that this could not be, as they did not expect him in ten thousand years." But he begged Father Ricci, of the reputation of whose great talents he had been apprised, to come to *Cai-fong-Fou*, where he would be delighted to commit to him the care of the synagogue, provided he would be willing to abstain from those articles of food which are forbidden to the Jews. The great age of the Ruler, and his ignorance of who would succeed him, induced him to make these offers to Father Ricci. This circumstance was propitious for enabling them to gain information with regard to their Pentateuch. The Ruler voluntarily consented to give them the beginning and the end of all the sections. These were found to be perfectly in agreement with the Hebrew Bible of Plantin, except that the Chinese copy had no vowel points.

In 1613, Father Aleni, whose profound erudition and great wisdom have gained for him, among the Chinese themselves, the title of the European Confucius, received orders from his superiors to repair to *Cai-fong-Fou*, and to push forward this discovery. He was the man of all the world best adapted to suc-

ceed there, being an accomplished Hebrew scholar. But times had changed. The old Ruler was dead; and while they readily showed Father Aleni the synagogue, he yet could not obtain a sight of the books, and they were not even willing to draw aside the curtain which covered them.

Such were the feeble beginnings of this discovery, which had been handed down to us by Fathers Trigaut and Sémédo¹ and by other missionaries. The scholars have often spoken of it, often with but little accuracy,² and they have always desired more extensive information.

The residence which, in process of time, the Jesuits established at *Cai-fong-Fou* gave new hopes. Nevertheless, Fathers Rodriguez and Figueredo endeavored in vain to profit by the advantages they had. Father Gozani is the first who succeeded. Having obtained admission, he made a copy of the inscriptions in the synagogue, which are written on large tables of marble, and sent them to Rome. The Jews informed him that they had a Bible at Peking, in the temple where are preserved the *Kings*, that is, the Sacred Books of foreigners. The French and Portuguese Jesuits obtained from the Emperor a permission to enter the temple and inspect these books. The Father Pareniun was also present. But they found nothing. Father Bouvet said that they discovered there some Syriac letters, and they had good reason to believe

¹ Trigaut, *de Expedit. Sinica*, lib. i., cap. ii., p. 118. Sémédo, *Relazione della China*, part i., cap. xxx., p. 193.

² Walton, *Polyglott, Prolegomen.*, iii., sect. 4. Jablonski, *Bibl. Hebr. Præs.*, sect. 38.

that the Master of the Pagoda misled the Jesuits. At the present time it would be very difficult to obtain admission into this library, and the attempts made by Father Gaubil have always been ineffectual. He was never able to learn what were these Hebrew and Syriac books. Nevertheless, a Tartar Christian, to whom he had given a Hebrew Bible, again assured him that he had seen books written in the same characters ; but he could not tell what these books were, or how great their antiquity. Only he confirmed to him the fact that they had there a *thora*, that is, a book of the Law.

While the Jesuits at Peking were making these fruitless searches, the Jews, less mysterious than the Chinese, voluntarily informed Father Gozani of their different customs ; and, at the commencement of this century, he found himself prepared to publish an account as circumstantial as could be by a person who was unacquainted with the Hebrew language.

These new revelations again awakened the attention of the scholars. Father Etienne Souciet, who was then engaged in a great work on the Scriptures, in reply to the *Critici Sacri*, was the most earnest in pressing this discovery. It is from the letters which Fathers Gozani, Domenge, and Gaubil wrote to him on this subject that I have derived all I have reported in this Memoir. The detailed account will be so much the more curious, as it has often been asked for, and as Father Halde has been pleased to promise it in his great description of China.¹

¹ Du Halde, *Description de la Chine*, tom. iii., p. 64.

The Chinese call the Jews who live among them *Hoai-Hoai*. This name is common to them and the Mahometans. But the Jews, among themselves, use the name *Tiao-Kin-Kcao*, that is to say, the law of those who discard the sinews; because they have a law forbidding their eating them, in memory of the wrestle of Jacob with the angel. A kind of blue cap, which they wear in their synagogue during prayer, has caused them again to receive the name of *Lau-maho-hoai-hoai*, to distinguish them from the Mahometans, who wear a red cap, and whom, for this reason, they call *Pe-maho-hoai-hoai*.

The Jews say they emigrated to China under the dynasty of *Han*, during the reign of *Han-ming-ti*; and that they came from *Si-yu*, that is to say, the country of the West. It appears by all that can be learned from them, that this Western country is Persia, and that they came by the way of Corassan and Samarkand. They have, besides, in their language, many Persian words; and they have preserved, during this long lapse of time, intimate relations with that country. They believe that they are the only ones settled on this vast continent, and know nothing of the other Jews in India, Thibet, and Western Tartary.

For a long time they were in great honor in China. Many have been governors of provinces, ministers of state, bachelors, and doctors. There have been some among them who possessed large landed property. But at the present day nothing remains of this ancient glory. Their settlements at *Ham-Tcheou*, *Nimpo*, *Pekin*, and *Ning-Hia* have even disappeared, most of them

having embraced the Mahometan faith. We do not now know of any but those at *Cai-fong-Fou*.

At their first settlement they numbered seventy families, of the different tribes of Benjamin, Levi, Judah, etc. Now they are reduced to seven families, who number altogether over one thousand persons. The various misfortunes by which this city has been afflicted in past times have much contributed to their wasting away.

During the reign of *Van-Lie* a great fire reduced their synagogue to ashes. All their books were destroyed, except one Pentateuch, which formerly they had received of a Mahometan whom they found at *Ning-Hia*, in the province of *Chen-Si*. A Jew of Canton, being near death, had committed it to him as a precious deposit. They rebuilt their synagogue; but it was again ruined, in 1642, by an inundation of the *Hoang-ho*, or Yellow River, in which more than three hundred thousand persons perished.

Tchao, a Jewish mandarin, took upon himself the restoration of the synagogue. It is the one which we see at this day. They call it *Li-pai-Sé*, that is to say, the place of the Ceremonies. This *Li-pai-Sé* is but sixty feet long by forty wide. But all the different buildings which are attached to it occupy a space on the ground of one hundred and fifty feet in breadth by three or four hundred in length. We recognize there the same plan which Father Domenge drew upon the spot.

The entrance of the synagogue is at the East. It opens with a *pai-leou*, that is to say, a triumphal arch,

which leads into a grand court. At the exit of this court we find a new triumphal arch ; and at the sides we see two stone monuments covered with inscriptions, of which I will speak at the end of this narrative. On advancing farther, we find two marble lions, a large brazen vase in which to burn perfumes, two basins of copper with their pedestals, and two large vases of flowers. At last, we arrive at the square in front of the *Li-pai-Sé*, which is entirely surrounded by a railing. It is here that they set up their great tent for the Feast of Tabernacles.

The *Li-pai-Sé* has two side aisles. The nave is divided into three parts. The first contains the chair of Moses ; the *Van-soui-Pai*, that is to say, the tablet of the Emperor ; and a great table for incense. Above the tablet of the Emperor we see this Hebrew inscription, in letters of gold : “ *Hear, O Israel ! Jehovah, one God, is the God alone. Blessed be His name, and His reign be glorious through all eternity.*” The second part forms a kind of tent, square outwardly and round within. This is the Holy of Holies of the Jews in China. They call it the *Bethel*, and in the Chinese language *Tien-Tang*, that is to say, the Temple of Heaven. On the front we read this Hebrew inscription, written in golden characters : “ *Know that Jehovah is the God of Gods, the Lord, the great God, strong and terrible.*”¹ This place, so revered by the Jews in China, contains their *Takings*, that is, their Sacred Books of the Holy Scriptures. On the side

¹ The Jesuit writer gives the Hebrew of these two inscriptions. It is without vowel points.—*Trans.*

of the Bethel are presses, which contain the Takings and other customary books. Behind the Bethel we see the two tables of the Law, written in golden letters.

Of all these monuments, the Takings were the most interesting to the scholars of Europe. But to form a just idea of them, we must know that the Chinese Jews give the name of Takings, or the Great Scriptures, to the Pentateuch alone. They have thirteen copies of it in their Bethel, placed on thirteen tables, in memory of the twelve tribes, and of Moses, the founder of their Law. They are not written on parchment, as Father Gozani stated ; but on paper, of which they have pasted many leaves together, so that they can be rolled without any danger of their tearing.

Each Taking in the Bethel is rolled on a pivot, and forms a kind of tent, covered by a curtain of silk. The Jews have the greatest veneration for these books ; but there is nevertheless one which they reverence more than all the others. They pretend that it has an antiquity of three thousand years, and is the only monument which remains to them. The other books having been destroyed by the fires or inundations, they have restored them from the books of the Persians.

All the Takings of the Bethel are without points. They are divided into fifty-three paragraphs or sections. They read one section every Sabbath day. In this way, the Jews in China, like the Jews in Europe, read the whole of the Law in the course of the year. He who reads the lesson places the Taking in

the chair of Moses. He has his face covered with a very delicate cotton veil. At his side is a prompter, and some steps further down is an official (*moula*) whose business it is to correct the prompter, in case he should make a mistake.

Father Domenge did not see in the *Li-pai-Sé* either a censer, or instrument of music, or particular dresses for ceremonies. All are obliged, while there, to put off their shoes, and each one had his head covered with a blue cap; only at the Feast of Tabernacles, when they made a procession with the Taking, each one who carried it had a scarf of red silk, which he wore above the right shoulder and below the left arm.

During the eight months that Father Domenge passed at *Cai-fong-Fou*, he in vain resorted to every imaginable means to obtain one of these books, or at least to have permission to collate his own Bible with one of these copies. But he could gain nothing from men too ignorant not to be suspicious. The only favor they granted him was to show him their books, and to permit him to examine certain passages. The following, then, is the information he gave us about them. The Takings of the Bethel are written in round characters and without points. The form of the letters is very similar to the ancient German editions of the Hebrew. He did not find there either *Phéthura* or *Séthuma*.¹ There are no intervals in the

¹ The *Phéthura* and *Séthuma* are the marks which are used in the Hebrew Bibles to designate the divisions of the different sections. The *Phéthura* has for its mark the letter *phé*, repeated three times; the *Séthuma* has the letter *samech*, repeated also three times. There are twelve of these sections in Genesis, eleven in Exodus, ten in

text, except the space of a single line, which is interposed between each of the fifty-three sections. When we asked them why these copies had no punctuation points, they replied, that God dictated the Law to Moses with such rapidity that he had no time to place the points ; but that their doctors at the West had thought proper to insert them, to aid the reader.

On the Saturday, in the Octave of the Feast of Tabernacles, Father Domenge having gone to the synagogue, they showed him their ancient Taking. It was about two feet in height and a little more in diameter when it was rolled. It had the appearance of great antiquity, but had been very much injured by water. He asked what was the lesson for the day, when they showed him the Song of Moses, which, among the Jews, made part of the *va jelec*, that is, of the fifty-second section.

Their fifty-third section is the same as the fifty-fourth in our ordinary Bibles. He read in a loud voice the Song of Moses, which was written in two columns, as in our Bibles when they are accurate. But the lines often ran the one into the other, which seemed to confuse them. The only difference which he found in all this Song, is that, in v. 25, in place of *thescael*, as in our ordinary Bibles, the Taking has *thocel*.¹ This difference, however, does not make any change in the sense ; it is always the sword destroy-

Leviticus, ten in Numbers, and eleven in Deuteronomy. These form the fifty-four parts of the Pentateuch. These large sections have also subordinate divisions, but they are marked by a single letter *phé*, or a single letter *samech*.

¹ Deut. xxxii. 25.

ing or devouring, which avenges the Lord on the sins of Israel.

With regard to the Takings in the presses, they all have the vowel points. The form of their letters very much resembles that in the Bible of Athias, printed at Amsterdam in 1705. They are, however, much more beautiful, larger and blacker. All are written by the hand, with pencils of bamboo, sharpened at the point like our pens, and with good ink, which they make themselves. With this they renew them every year at the Feast of Tabernacles, for they have great scruples with regard to using either the pencils or the ink of the Chinese. Their paper has not the same delicacy as that of the Chinese; for, in place of preparing it with alum water, so that they can write on both sides, they prefer pasting a number of leaves together, so as to make one having the thickness of three or four ordinary leaves.

The Takings are all seven inches in length and four or five in height. They contain the fifty-three divisions. Each division contains one of the sections of the Pentateuch. The first word of the section is written without initial letter and without points, a little above the middle of the margin of the first page, in a little square formed of green or blue silk, or of white taffety, in the form *Bereshith*¹ for the first section and *Noach*² for the second, and so with the others; for these sections are the same as in the Am-

¹ *Bereshith*, "in the beginning." This is the commencement of Gen. i. It is, therefore, the initial word of the first section.—*Trans.*

² That is, *Noah*.

sterdam Bible, except that they have united the fifty-second and fifty-third sections in one. The first word written in the margin is not repeated at the beginning of the section. Each page is marked by a noun of number, and not by a numeral letter. It is always placed in the middle of the book, above the first word.

As each section forms a separate division, they do not mark at the end either the Phéthura or the Séthuma. Nevertheless, separating marks are not entirely unknown, although much more rare in their books than in ours. They place theirs in the margin, and they always join them together in one of two ways.¹ There are four of them in the division *Bereshith*, that is, in the first section of Genesis. The first is in the first chapter, before the tenth verse, according to our way of counting ; the second is in the same chapter, before the twenty-seventh verse ; the third is in chapter second, before the twenty-first verse ; the fourth is in the third chapter, before the fourteenth verse. Except in these four places, the first section of Genesis has no marginal note, or interval, or inter-linear separations. They know nothing of the *Keri* and the *Ketib*.² They mark exactly at the end of the

¹ *Pe-Mem* or *Mem-Daleth*.

² The *Ketib* is a doubtful word adopted in the text and marked with a small circle above it, which refers to a different reading in the margin, called the *Keri*. These different readings are supposed to have been inserted by Ezra and the other one hundred and nineteen men of the Great Synagogue. Rabbi David Kimchi observes, that, during the Captivity, the Sacred Books were lost or dispersed, and wise men, who excelled in the knowledge of Scripture, were dead. Hence it happened that the men of the Great Synagogue, who restored the Law to its former state, found varieties in different books,

phrases the *Pesukim*,¹ that is to say, the two points which they call *Kela*. As to the number of verses, they only mark them at the end of the section or division, below the last line, and in numeral letters. Thus, they count a hundred and forty-six in *Bereshith*, or in the first division; and a hundred and forty-three in *Noach*, or the second division.²

They have large and small letters. For example, the first word of Genesis, *Bereshith*, has a large *Beth*; and in the fourteenth verse of the second chapter of Genesis, the word *Héhibaram* has a small *Hé*. Father Domenge did not think that these Jews had any knowledge of those words which are divided into two; or of those of which two form one, or which take the place of other words; or, in fine, of those which they read without being written, or those which they write and do not read. However, he did not venture to decide, because he had not time to enter into a sufficiently minute detail on this point of criticism.

As to the unspeakable name of God, *Jehovah*, they pronounce it *Hotoi*. In place of *Adonai*, they say *Etunoi*. They do not differ from us in the pronunciation of the word *Elohim*. But when they translate into Chinese the name of Jehovah, they do not say, as do the missionaries, *Tien-Tehu*, but only *Tien*, as

and employed the knowledge they possessed in adjusting them. But, when their knowledge failed, they wrote one word in the text and another in the margin.—*Trans.*

¹ Punctuation at the end of the verse.—*Trans.*

² The verses of *Bereshith* are marked by the letters, *Vav-Mem-Zoph*, that is, 146; and those of *Noach*, by the letters, *Gimel-Mem-Zoph*, that is, 143.

the Chinese literary scholars do when they explain their characters *Chang-Ti*.

The greatest difference which Father Domenge discovered between the Takings and the Bible of Amsterdam, consisted in the *Raphé*, or the horizontal line which the Jews call *Lofi*. It is very common with them, and often we find it on two or three letters of the same word. The form of their accents is also a little different in its position and shape, which induced Father Domenge to conjecture that their Bible was perhaps the Oriental Bible of Jacob Ben Nephthali, who opened his schools in the land of Babylon during the time that Ben Ascher held his in Palestine. However, these Jews have no acquaintance with this Rabbi, and their knowledge of punctuation is very limited. They know nothing of all that array of names which we find in our European books. They have only the general word *Siman* to express the points and accents.

We now come to the comparisons which Father Domenge made of the Bible of Amsterdam with these most ancient Takings of China. We had requested him to verify certain passages in Genesis which most occupied the attention of critics. He examined them, but did not discover any difference.¹ In the twenty-third chapter, verse second, he did not see that the *chaph* of the word *libechotha*² was appar-

¹ The places which Father Domenge examined were, chap. ii. 17; iii. 17; vii. 11; viii. 4, 7; xi. entire; xiii. 3; xvii. 22; xxiii. 2; xxiv. 2; xxxiii. 4; xlvii., xlviii., xlix., entire.

² Gen. xxiii. 2. Our Bibles mark with a very small *chaph* this word, which expresses the tears which Abraham shed on the death of his wife Sarah.

ently smaller. Nevertheless, the chief of the synagogue told him that it was. They seemed not to be acquainted with the ancient manner of taking an oath mentioned in chapter twenty-fourth, verse second. It is not a custom among them. They say, that they contented themselves, by not going to take an oath in the idol temples. On the word *vajiscakckou*,¹ of chapter thirty-third, verse fourth, there are six points, the first apparently much larger than a single point.

The twelfth section of their Takings begins, as in the Bible of Amsterdam, with the word *vejchè*, of chapter forty-seventh, verse twenty-eighth. It contains all the prophecies of Jacob to his children. They are written together, without separations, without *Phéthura* and without *Séthuma*.

Father Domenge asked them what they understood by the word *Siloh* and by that of *Jescuathcca*, which so often occurs in their Scriptures; but they did not make any reply. These Jews, at the present day, are so ignorant as not to understand their own entire text.

We had asked Father Domenge to see what was the punctuation of the word *Hammitta*, chapter forty-seventh, verse thirty-first, to learn if they wrote it *Hammitta* or *Hammatté*. He forgot it, but he thought that, having found so great conformity with the Amsterdam Bible in other places, it was highly probable there would be the same in this.

It only remains to make two observations on these

¹ Gen. xxxiii. 4. It is in this singular way that it expresses the kiss of peace which Esau gave to his brother Jacob.

discoveries of Father Domenge. At the end of *Bere-shith*, that is, the first division of this Taking, he found an inscription which is very much defaced in the copy which he sent. Nevertheless, we recognize there the names of different rabbies. It seems to be a record of remembrance of their doctors, and, in particular, of one who had come from Medina, and who, perhaps, had procured this Taking. It ends with the words: "*Blessings rest on you on your departure. Blessings on you on your return. Abundant glory in the possession of these treasures. Lord, I have waited for Thy salvation.*"¹

Father Domenge saw also a scroll attached to one of the columns of the *Li-pai-sé*, which had marked on it the *Mineaha*, that is to say, the order of the reading of the sections of the Pentateuch. At the two ends it made mention of two books with which I am unacquainted. The first is named *Noumaha*. It is divided into twelve parts, and is read on the first day of each great month and on the second of the small months. The other, named *Mouphtar*, is also divided into twelve parts. It is read on the fifteenth day of the great months and the sixteenth of the small months.² Father Domenge endeavored to learn what these books contained; but the pronunciation of these Jews is so singular that he could not comprehend what they said.

¹ The Jesuit writer gives this inscription in the Hebrew.—*Trans.*

² Every other month of the Jewish year contained thirty days, the alternate one having but twenty-nine days. This constituted the difference between the great and small months.—*Trans.*

In addition to what I have so far reported, we thought that perhaps these Jews of China had no other books of the Holy Scripture but the Pentateuch. But in this we were mistaken. They have also many others; but they do not give the title of Canonical to any but the Pentateuch alone. The other books they call *San-tso*, that is to say, supplementary or detached books. Under this title they comprehend Joshua and the Judges, which they have not entire; *Schemoucul*, or Samuel, which is entire; *Melachim*, or the last two books of Kings, which are mutilated in several places; David, or the Psalms, as to the entireness of which he did not examine. This first part of the *San-tso* makes more than thirty volumes. The second part contains the *Hafoutala*, it being thus that they call the *Haphtaroth*, or prophetic sections. They say that they formerly had of this more than eighty volumes. We find no difficulty in believing this; because their books never contain a large number of chapters, and they unite with the prophets the Chronicles, or the *Paralypomenes*. Isaiah, whom they call *Iséhaha*, and Jeremiah, whom they name *Faméléiohum*, are almost entire. These they read on festival days. They have nothing of Ezekiel, and nothing of Daniel but some verses of the first chapter.

Of the minor prophets, they have remaining *Fu-enaha*, or Jonah; *Micaha*, or Micah; *Nahouam*, or Nahum; *Hapacouque*, or Habakkuk; *Sécaleio*, or Zechariah. The greater part of these minor prophets are not entire, and they have nothing of the rest. The

book of Chronicles, or the *Paralypomencs*, which they call *Tiveli-Haiamiim*, is also badly mutilated; they have remaining of it only the four or five first chapters. The books of Nehemiah and Esther are a little less imperfect. The Jews of China have a very great veneration for this princess: they always call her *Issetha Mama*, or the Great Mother. Their respect extends also to Mordecai, whom they call *Moltoghi*. They regard them as the saviors of Israel.

Two of their books, which would be the most valued in Europe, are the first two books of the Maccabees. It appeared that they call them *Mantiiohum*, or *Mathatias*, and that they have but a single copy. Father Domenge tried every imaginable way to purchase it, or at least to procure a copy; but they were not willing to listen to any proposition.

To all these books of *San-tso*, the Jews add also their *Li-pai*, that is to say, their rituals or books of prayers. Each *Li-pai* contains fifty or fifty-two divisions. They are written in large characters. These volumes are longer and larger than books in Europe and China, and of an inch in thickness. These prayers are almost all taken from Scripture, and particularly from the Psalms. Besides these, they have four volumes of the *Mischna*¹ and different interpreters in

¹ *The Mischna* consists of the traditions of the Jews and explanations of several passages of Scripture. They are said to have been delivered to Moses when on the Mount, and afterwards handed down to the seventy elders, by whom they were communicated to the men of the Great Sanhedrim, from whom the wise men of Jerusalem and Babylon received them.

Dr. Prideaux, rejecting this fiction, says that, after the death of

equally bad order, which they call in Chinese *Tiang-tchang*.

Notwithstanding the possession of all these books, Father Domenge found these Jews in a state of great ignorance. The most able among them did not understand certain parts of the Pentateuch, or of those books which they read the most frequently. They were very sensible of their deficiency on this point, and excused themselves by saying that it was more than a century since any doctor of *Si-ya*, that is, of the West, had come to them; and that it was a long time since they had lost their *Tou-king-puen*, that is, their grammar, or their book for understanding the Scriptures.

Father Gozani adds, that they used their sacred books when they cast lots. They practised circumcision on the seventh day after birth. On the Sabbath days they did not even light a fire in their dwellings. They observe the Passover and many other solemnities. There is one day which they spend entirely in their synagogue in weeping and wailing.¹ They are acquainted with the existence of angels, of the cherubim and seraphim. Father Gozani could draw nothing from them with regard to the Messiah, though he often questioned them. They do not re-

Simon the Just, about 292 years before Christ, the Mischnial doctors arose, so that towards the middle of the second century it became necessary to commit their works to writing. The original has been published, with a Latin translation from the learned Maimonides, in 6 vols., folio. Amsterdam, 1698-1703.—*Trans.*

¹ This is a service introduced since the fall of Jerusalem, when they thus lament the destruction of their temple.—*Trans.*

ceive proselytes, and never intermarry with strangers. They have printed in Chinese a small volume explanatory of their religion, which they present to the mandarins whenever there are any threats of persecution.

Their scholars and doctors honor Confucius. They pay reverence, also, to all their deceased ancestors, and have their memorial tablets after the manner of the Chinese. In the innermost part of their synagogue, they have a hall where they preserve the tablets of their departed benefactors. At the entrance of the synagogue is an ancient *pai-fa*, or tablet, with the inscription *King-Tien*. This is in the same characters which the Emperor *Cang-Hi* himself wrote, to place on the church of the Jesuit missionaries.

In their prayers they turn in the direction of the West. Their *Li-pai-Sé*, or their synagogue, is built in the same direction. This, without doubt, is in memory of Jerusalem, which, with reference to them, is in the West. The rich easily excuse themselves from going to the synagogue. It is only necessary to have made a copy of one Taking and to place it in the presses. The consequence is, that, at ordinary services, one does not see more than forty or fifty persons in the *Li-pai-Sé*. A Taking which has been placed in the presses can never again be taken from the synagogue. A Jew had agreed to sell his to Father Domenge, but was surprised while he was bringing it out. They arrested him, and heaped on him great reproaches.

Such are the facts with which we had become ac-

quainted with regard to the Jews in China, when Father Gaubil, so widely known in Europe for his zeal to transmit to it every thing which could awaken its interest with respect to the learning of Asia, made a voyage to *Cai-song-Fou*. He was very well received, and profited by this circumstance to obtain further information. It is to him we are indebted for these Chinese inscriptions which are in the synagogue.

The first was placed there in 1444, by a Jewish scholar, named *Kin-Tchong*. This is the summary of it as sent to us by Father Gaubil: —

“The author of the Law of *Y-se-lo-Ye*, Israel, is *Ha-vou-lo-Han*, Abraham. This holy man lived a hundred and forty-six years before the commencement of *Tcheou*. His Law was handed down by tradition to *Niché*, Moses. He received his book on Mount Sinai. He was always in unison with Heaven. The doctrine which is contained there is almost the same as that of the Chinese *Kings*.”¹ The author here draws a parallel between the doctrine of the Chinese and that of the Jews. He brings forward many passages to prove, in particular, that the worship which they rendered to Heaven, the ceremonies which they observed, their fasts, their prayers, their manner of honoring the dead, are almost the same. He pretends that we find in the book called *Y-King* some traces of the sanctification of the Sabbath. He added that Moses lived six hundred and thirty years before the commencement of *Tcheou*. He speaks of *Gai-sse-La*, Esdras, and praises the zeal which induced him to re-

¹ Sacred Books.—*Trans.*

store their books, to instruct and correct the people of Israel.

Some one has appended to this inscription a detailed account of the inundation which destroyed this synagogue in 1462, and has noticed the fact that the Jews of *Nimpo* and *Ning-Hia* gave their books to replace the losses they had suffered.

Tso-Tang, Grand Mandarin and Grand Treasurer of the province of *Sé-Téhuau*, placed the second inscription in 1515, the tenth year of the Emperor *Tching-Té*, named also *Vou-Tsoug*.

It begins with these words: "The Law of Israel. *Ha-Kan*, Adam, is the first man. He was of *Tien-Tcho* in the West.¹ The Jews have one Law and their traditions. The Law is contained in five books and fifty-three sections." The Mandarin here gives a grand eulogium on the Law. He then adds: "The Jews reverence Heaven as we do. Abraham is the author of their Law: he is their father. Moses published this Law: he is their legislator. In the time of *Han*, the Jews settled in China, and, in the twentieth year of cycle 65,² they offered to the Emperor *Hiao-Tsong* a tribute of the workmanship of the Indies. He received them favorably, and permitted them to remain at *Cai-fong-Fou*, which was called at that time *Picu-Leang*. They formed there seventy *fins*, or families. They built a synagogue, where they

¹ In the latter part of this article, where the residence of Adam is again mentioned, *Tien-Tcho* is stated to mean some country to the west of them, probably Syria.—*Trans.*

² This year is 1163 after Christ, and the first of the reign of *Hiao-Tsong*.

placed their *Kings*, that is to say, their Sacred Books."

The mandarin goes on to say that these *Kings* were not for the Jews of *Cai-fong-Fou* alone, but they had reference to all men, the rulers and their subjects, the fathers and their children, the old and the young, as each might there learn his duties.

After this reflection, the mandarin shows that the Law of the Jews is almost the same as that of the Chinese, since the essential points of both are to worship Heaven, to reverence their parents, and to render to the dead the honors which were due them.

These are the terms used by the mandarin, who adds a high commendation of the Jews. He affirms that in the different countries, in commerce, in the magistracy, in the armies, they are universally esteemed for their integrity, their fidelity, and the exactness with which they observe their ceremonies. He ends with saying that this Law passed from Adam to *Nuova*, Noah, from Noah to Abraham, to Isaac, to Jacob, to the twelve tribes, to Moses, to Aaron, to Joshua, to Esdras, who had been their second legislator.

In the second year of the Emperor *Cang-Hi*,¹ a great mandarin, who was a minister of the empire, placed the third inscription. He there first speaks of Adam, of Noah, of Abraham, and of Moses. He highly praises the virtue of Abraham. He says that he adored the Heaven, without figure, without image, as the author and preserver of all things, being eternal

¹ This second year of *Cang-Hi* answers to the years 1662 and 1663.

and without beginning, and that his Law is observed even to the present time. He then goes on to compare the times of Abraham and of Moses with those of the Chinese emperors ; but this part is full of errors.

He adds that Moses received the Law on Mount Sinai ; that he fasted forty days and forty nights ; that his heart was always elevated to God ; that the Law was comprised in fifty-three sections ; and that the whole of it is admirable. He gives a commendation of Esdras, the restorer of this Law. He praises the Jews, and shows the conformity of their doctrine with that of the *Tukias*, that is to say, the literary scholars of China. He depends upon the authority of the *Kings* to prove that anciently in China they sanctified the Sabbath. He even goes so far as to pretend that the Hebrew characters are much in accordance with the ancient Chinese characters. He enters into minute detail with regard to the inundation which destroyed the synagogue of *Cai-fong-Fou*, in 1462, the seventh year of the Emperor *Tien-Tchun*, who was formerly called *Ing-Thong*. The books were very much injured. A Jew, of *Nimpo*, named *Yu*, brought an entire Bible, in which he had copied all the *Kings*. In 1490, the second year of *Hong-Tchi*, they rebuilt the *Li-pai-Sé*. *Yeu Toula* bore the expense of the edifice.

The mandarin ends by speaking of the three different sects of China. He repeats that the Law of the Jews is entirely conformed to that of the *Tukias*, or the literary scholars, in every thing with respect to the worship of Heaven, the submission and respect of

children for their fathers, of subjects for their princes, and the honors which, at certain times, we should render to the dead.

The fourth and last inscription repeats again these praises of Abraham, the nineteenth descendant of Adam ; of Moses, of Esdras, of the Law which prescribes the adoration of Heaven, the Creator of all things, without any mingling of false gods on the part of the Jews, who are most faithful observers of this Law. The inundation of 1642 is there described at length. The synagogue was destroyed. A multitude of Jews perished. Twenty-six sections of their books were lost. The rest were saved. Out of these relics they formed, in 1654, one large volume. We find there the names of those who restored these books and who copied them. All were reviewed again by *Tchan-Kiao*, that is, by the Ruler of the synagogue ; and the inscription certifies that all was exact. It ends with a general description of the new *Li-pai-Sé*, its different detached buildings, its halls, its courts, and its gates. The names of the builders are given, also of those persons who contributed to the expense of the tablet of the Emperor and of the Bethel. We find also there the names of the seven families who resided at *Cai-fong-Fou*.

Father Gaubil did not content himself with obtaining the exact copies of these monuments, but he made himself intimate with these Jews. He informed himself of their belief and of their customs. He learned by their conversation what they thought of purgatory, of hell, of the judgment, of paradise, of the resurrec-

tion of the body, and of the angels. But they had no particular profession of their faith. He explained to them the meaning which we commonly attach to the word *Jehovah*. All applauded him and assured him that they had always recognized in this word the eternity of God, that it signified to be, to have been, and to continue to be.

He thought that this occasion was favorable to his learning their explanation of the word *Siloh*, so celebrated in the prophecy of Jacob. He was the more curious to learn what they thought of this word, because, some time before, there had happened to him a most singular adventure connected with this subject. Being one day at *Han-Keou*, an important port of *Hon-quan*, where Father Couteux was residing, he learned that this father had living with him a Chinese, who was a high literary scholar, and who had a remarkable talent for deciphering ancient letters. In the belief which he entertained that the letters of the word *Siloh* were anciently hieroglyphics, he asked this Chinese, who had no acquaintance with Hebrew, to give him his views on *Siloh*, which he wrote, after the manner of the Chinese, the letters one above the other.¹ As soon as the Chinese saw these characters, he said that the first signified *very high*, the second, *Lord*, the third *one*, and the fourth *man*. He added

¹ Hebrew Letters of <i>Siloh</i> .	Chinese Explanation.	Explanation of the Jews.
Schin.	Very high.	Grand.
Jod.	Lord.	One.
Lamed.	One.	Descending.
Hè.	Man.	Man.

that in China they gave this name to him, whom they called *Ching-Ein*, that is, the holy man. The surprise of Father Couteux, and of Father Jacques, who was also present with Father Gaubil, was extreme. The explanation of the Jews was not less remarkable; for Father Gaubil, having questioned them on this point, at first all were silent. He went on to explain to them what the Fathers and doctors understood by this term. A young Jew, then, with much politeness, asked permission to speak, and said that one of his great uncles, who had now been dead for a long time, had assured him that there was in this word something of the Divinity: that the *Schin* signified *great*; the *Fod*, *one*; the *Lamed*, *descending*; and the *Hè*, *man*; that it signified in this very singular way the Divine Saviour, who was to descend from heaven to earth. The young Jew added that he did not know any other meaning. He became much attached to Father Gaubil, followed him, inquired of him his name, his residence, and assured him that he would often hear from him.

But, having gone to the synagogue, Father Gaubil asked to see their books. The *Tchang-Kiao*, or ruler of the synagogue, consented. Besides the books of which I have already spoken, they showed him one which they had hitherto concealed from the missionaries, and which, by its singularity, arrested the entire attention of the father. It was the remains of the Pentateuch, which seemed to have been much damaged by water. It was written on rolls, on paper of a very uncommon kind; the characters were large, clear, and in their form something between the He-

brew of the Bible of Antwerp and that which we see in the Hebrew and Chaldaic grammar, printed at Würtemberg in 1531. It had nothing below the letters, but above them were accents and a peculiar kind of points, "such," said Father Gaubil, "as I have never seen elsewhere." He questioned the *Tchang-Kiao* about the manuscript, which seemed to have all the air of antiquity. This is what he learned.

In the time of the Emperor *Van-Lie*, the synagogue was burnt, and all their books were destroyed for the second time. But some Jews of *Si-yu* having arrived under these circumstances, they obtained of them a Bible with the other books. The Pentateuch is the only one of these books which they have preserved in the original. Of the others, which were destroyed by the lapse of time, they have only copies. Father Gaubil offered a large sum for this Pentateuch, but it was refused. He agreed, nevertheless, on the price for a copy, which they promised him.

He then asked the Jews who were present to explain to him some passages in their books. They excused themselves on the plea that it had been a long time since any of their masters had come to them from the West, and that they had lost their *Ton-king-Puen*,¹ and that except the Pentateuch, of which they understood a little, they were not able to explain the other books of Scripture, nor their commentators, nor what remained to them of the Mischna.

In their turn they asked Father Gaubil to explain

¹ In a previous part of the letter this is explained to be their Grammar, or book to explain the Scriptures. — *Trans.*

some passage. He selected the prophecy of Jacob, the Ten Commandments of God, and the command to know but one God. He wished to explain to them the passage of Isaiah on the advent of the Messiah; but he found the place torn off in the book which they had given him. He informed them of its history, and they seemed well contented with what he told them.

Then one of the Jews took the book, and explained the verse, — *Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is God alone.* He explained also the command of circumcision; but the pronounciation of these Jews is so singular that the father would not have been able to recognize what this Jew read in the Hebrew, unless he had the book before his eyes.

One can readily conceive that these Jews, having for so long a time lost all intercourse with the Western Jews, and having been born in China, where one is not able to catch many of our sounds, where they even have not the letters B, D, E, and R, would be obliged to pronounce P for B, T for D, *ih* for E, and L for R. They also give a nasal sound to many syllables, especially the *lu*. Thus, in place of pronouncing, as we do, *tohu ra bohu*, they pronounce *theohum ro pcohum*. They say *thoulaha* or *thaulatfè* for *thora*, *pielechitsee* for *beseschith*, *schemesse* for *schemoth*, *piemitzpaul* for *bmidar*, and *teveliim* for *debarim*.

Father Gaubil, having satisfied himself on the points with regard to which he had come to inquire, and entirely content with the reception he had met with, departed from *Cai-fong-Fou* to return to Peking, with the hope of shortly receiving a copy of the curious

Pentateuch which he had seen, and already planning a second voyage, when he would be able to accomplish what he had begun so happily. But the religious revolution which took place destroyed our residence at *Cai-fong-Fou*, and broke up the intercourse which we had with those Jews.

After having thus with care brought together the different subjects which I have found scattered through many manuscript letters of the missionaries, it only remains for me to make some reflections on different points which have appeared to me to merit some discussion. I have reserved these for the end of this Memoir, so that the detail of these discoveries might be better followed, and that my ideas, or my conjectures, might not be found to have been substituted for the researches.

According to these monuments, Adam was created in *Tien-tcho*. The Chinese give this name to five different countries. The two most celebrated are that part of India which is towards the kingdom of Bengal, where *Fo* was born ; and Syria, with the kingdom of Medina. It is, without doubt, of Syria that we must understand these inscriptions. Anciently they called this country *Tien-tang*, that is, *the country of Heaven*. They have named it again at the present day *Tien-fang*.

The Jews know nothing of Caënan, of whom Saint Luke and the Septuagint have spoken, since they say that Abraham was the nineteenth descendant from Adam.

We find more difficulty in the epoch of the times of

Abraham, which they make to correspond with the hundred and forty-sixth year of *Tcheou*. This dynasty did not begin until the year 1122 before Christ, and the death of Abraham was more than eighteen centuries before the Christian era. I have found in a work of Father Gaubil, on the Chinese chronology, a solution of this difficulty, which is very plausible. He remarks that before the dynasty of *Tcheou* ascended the throne of China it had occupied one kingdom there ; that *Heoutsî*, chief of this family, and his successors, are spoken of in history by the title of kings. But the times of *Heoutsî* went back even to those of *Iao*, who commenced to reign at least 1226 years before Jesus Christ. The times of Abraham, then, can coincide with the one hundred and forty-sixth year of the family of *Tcheou*, the chief of which was *Heoutsî*.

This solution equally explains what relates to the times of Moses, which these monuments carry back to the year 613 of *Tcheou*. There does not remain any difficulty but with regard to the four hundred and sixty-seven years which these inscriptions suppose to have been between Abraham and Moses ; for between the births of Abraham and of Moses there were but four hundred and twenty-five years. This leaves forty-two years. I could with equal willingness receive the conjecture that this is the time that Moses remained in the house of Pharaoh, while he informed himself in all the sciences of the Egyptians. But these Jews of China have followed some traditions, or some probabilities, which marked the time when this great man

began to show his zeal for the deliverance of his people.

As to the antiquity of the *Taking*, which these Jews told Father Domenge they had possessed for three thousand years, it is evident that they did not refer to a particular manuscript, which had an antiquity of three thousand years, but to the Law which had been given by Moses three thousand years before. And, in fact, since the publication of the Law on Mount Sinai, to the time when they conversed with Father Domenge, there had elapsed, according to the usual calculation of the Jews in Europe, three thousand years. It is this which proves to us that the chronology of the Jews of China is the same with that of the Jews of Europe.

We come now to the period when these Jews entered China. They always stated to all our missionaries that they made their entry there under the family of *Han*, and their monuments say the same. The dynasty of *Han* commenced in the year 206 before Jesus Christ. It is, then, during this period that the Jews penetrated into China. They might have gone there before the ruin of their country; but it is much more natural to believe that it was not till after the frightful destruction of Jerusalem, when, dispersed into all parts, those of Corassan and of the Transoxanè spread into China. This conjecture approaches even to a certainty, when I recall the fact that many of these Jews have assured me that they arrived under the reign of *Ming-Ti*. This prince ascended the throne in the year 56 after Jesus Christ,

and did not die until the year 78. These dates could not better agree with the destruction of Jerusalem, which took place in the year 70.

The settlement of *Cai-fong-Fou* is much less ancient. We have the date of this in the second inscription, that it was in the twentieth year of the Cycle 65, when they offered their tribute of the workmanship of India to the Emperor *Hia-Tsong*. All these characters agree with the year 1163 after Jesus Christ, and the first of the reign of *Hia-Tsong*. *Hoa-Tsong* had resigned the government to him in the end of the preceding year. He could not have selected a prince more active, more capable to resist the formidable armies of the Tartars, and to push forward the conquests which the Chinese had begun to make to the east of *Cai-fong-Fou*. The misfortunes of this synagogue are marked in their inscriptions. In 1462 it was destroyed by the waters of the *Hoang-ho*, or Yellow River, — a river celebrated for its ravages, and which commands this city. Almost all their books were destroyed, and those which remained were very much damaged by the water. In 1642 the city was besieged by the Chinese themselves, who had revolted against their legitimate prince; but it made so brave a resistance that the cruel *Li-tsee-tching* was twice obliged to raise the siege. He returned a third time to blockade it, and to force it to surrender through famine. The governor, finding himself without resources, broke down the banks of the river, and forced the enemy to retire, burying himself under the waters. The

synagogue again perished, and it destroyed many books.

Between these two inundations it had been reduced to ashes in the end of the sixteenth century, during the reign of the Emperor *Van-Lic*, who ascended the throne in 1572. The books perished for the second time in this disaster.

Notwithstanding so great calamities, we are able to obtain from these Jews valuable light on the subject of their customs and books. The accordance of their Pentateuch with ours gives new force to the proof in favor of our religion, which we have been able to draw, even to the present time, with so much advantage. The missionaries would place the crown on the obligations under which they have laid us, if they should be able to procure for Europe one of the *Takings* of the Bethel, or at least a book exactly collated with the most ancient of their manuscripts. The Pentateuch which Father Gaubil has seen, in the last place, requires a new and very thorough examination. One of the *Takings*, placed in the presses, would also be a great acquisition, although much less curious than those of the Bethel. The books of the Maccabees would be very useful, and have a hearty reception. Even the fragments of our own canonical books are precious, for we cannot have too many of them. It would be very proper to make some new efforts for the books of which Father Domenge speaks, and which they read at the beginning and in the middle of the great and the small months. On this point we are not able to procure any information from the

Jews of Europe, who have not these customs. It is necessary, then, to turn to those of China; and we should use the greatest diligence, as it is too much to be feared that this synagogue, now so feeble, may end by uniting, as others have done, with the Mahometan faith, or at least sink into an ignorance so great as to place it beyond our power to instruct them.

II.

MISSIONS IN LOWER CALIFORNIA.

1702.

[THE following letter contains an account of the only footing which the Jesuits obtained on the Pacific coast, north of Mexico. It was among the wild tribes of Lower California. We frequently hear references to "the Jesuit Missions in California," but this is incorrect. At an early day California proper was taken possession of by the Franciscans, who obtained grants for nineteen missions, stretching the whole length of the country. These grants were sometimes eleven leagues in extent; and it is from these missionaries that San Francisco received the name of their patron saint. The Jesuits did not enter California until the annexation of the country by the Americans.

With this letter is published a map of the Peninsula of Lower California, and part of Mexico on the opposite side of the Gulf, executed in 1702. It is surprising how accurately it is drawn; and we read on it names which are even now familiar to us, — Sonora, Rio Colorado, Yumas, Apaches, Moqui, Tucani, Guaimas, &c.]

MEMOIR, with regard to the condition of the Missions lately established in California, by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus; presented to the Royal Council of Guadalaxara, in Mexico, the tenth day of February, in the year 1702, by Father François Marie Picolo, of the same Society, and one of the original founders of this Mission.

REVEREND FATHERS, — It is in obedience to the orders which you did me the honor to give, some days since, that I undertake to render an exact and faithful

account of the discoveries we have made and the establishments we have formed, — the Father Jean-Marie de Salvatierra and myself, — in California, during the five years that we have been in that vast country.

It was in the month of October of the year 1697 that we embarked, and crossed the sea which separates California from New Mexico, under the auspices and protection of our Lady of Loretto, whose image we carried with us. This "Star of the Sea" conducted us safely to the port, with all the people who accompanied us. As soon as we had placed our feet on land, we set up the image of the Holy Virgin in the most appropriate place we could find; and, after having adorned it as much as our poverty allowed, we offered our prayers to this powerful advocate, to be as favorable to us on the land as she had been upon the sea.

But the devil, whom our coming disturbed in the peaceful possession he had enjoyed for so many ages, made every effort to defeat our enterprise and prevent our success. The people among whom we had landed were not acquainted with our language; and, having no one among us who could understand theirs, we could not inform them of our object, to relieve them from the deep darkness of idolatry in which they were involved, and to labor for their eternal salvation. They imagined, therefore, that we had come into their country to trespass on their pearl-fisheries, as others had attempted, more than once, in times past. With this idea, they took up arms, and gathered in crowds about

our habitation, where we had then but a very small number of Spaniards. They attacked us with so much violence, and the multitude of arrows and stones they discharged were so great, that we should certainly have suffered, had not the Holy Virgin, who was to us in the place of *an army arrayed for battle*, protected us. The people who were with us, aided by this succor from on high, firmly received the attack, and repulsed the enemy with so much success that in a short time they took to flight.

The Indians, having been rendered more tractable by their defeat, and seeing, besides, that they could gain nothing by force, sent some of their number to confer with us. We received them in a friendly way ; and, in a short time, acquired sufficient knowledge of their language to make them comprehend our object in coming to their country. These deputies disabused their countrymen of the error under which they had labored ; so that, persuaded of our good intentions, they came back to seek us in great numbers, and all showed their joy on learning our strong desire to instruct them in our holy religion, and to show them the way to heaven. This happy disposition animated us to learn thoroughly the Monqui language, which they speak in this country.

The next two years were spent partly in study and partly in catechising the people. Father de Salvatierra charged himself with the instruction of the adults, and I of the children. The diligence of the young people in coming to hear us speak of God, and their application in learning the Christian doctrine,

were so great that in a short time we found them perfectly instructed. Very many begged of me to administer to them holy baptism, and with so many tears and such earnest entreaties that I was not able to refuse them. Some sick persons and some old people, who we thought were sufficiently instructed, also received that rite, in the fear that, if delayed, they might die unbaptized. And we had reason to believe, with regard to many of them, that Providence had prolonged their days to preserve them for this moment of salvation. There were also about fifty infants at the breast, who, from the arms of their mothers, winged their flight to heaven, after having been regenerated in Jesus Christ.

After having thus labored for the instruction of these people, we earnestly desired to discover others to whom we could render ourselves equally useful. To gather in a greater harvest, Father de Salvatierra and I were willing to separate, and thus deprive ourselves of the satisfaction we had enjoyed of living and laboring together. He therefore took the route to the north, and I that through the middle and west. We both received great consolation from following this Apostolic example; for, as we were well acquainted with the language, and the Indians placed entire confidence in us, they themselves invited us to enter their villages, and it gave them pleasure to receive us there, and to bring their children to us. After instructing those with whom we first met, we went on in search of others, to whom in succession we unfolded the mysteries of our faith. It was in this

way that Father de Salvatierra discovered all the settlements which now compose the Mission of Loretto-Concho, and that of Saint Jean de Londo ; while I became acquainted with all the country which at present is called the Mission of Saint François Xavier de Biaundo, extending to the sea at the south.

In thus going forward, each on his own side, we found that many tribes of different languages were mingled together, some speaking the Monqui tongue, which we knew, and others the Laymone language, which we had not yet acquired. This rendered it necessary for us to learn the Laymone, which is much more widely extended than the Monqui, and which prepared us for travelling through all this great country. We therefore applied ourselves so sèdulously to the study of this second language that we acquired it in a short time, and then commenced preaching with the same readiness, sometimes in the Laymone and sometimes in the Monqui. God has blessed our labors ; for we have already baptized more than a thousand children, all well disposed, and so eager to receive this grace that we were not able to resist their earnest prayers. More than three thousand adults, equally well instructed, desired and implored the same blessing ; but we deemed it proper to postpone it, to give time to prove our converts, and strengthen them more in this holy resolution. For, as these people have lived for a long time in idolatry, and in entire subjection to their false priests, and as, besides, they are naturally of a light and fickle disposition, we feared, if they were precipitate, they might afterward

fall away, or that, having become Christians without fulfilling their duties, they might expose our holy faith to the contempt of the idolaters. For this reason they are content to be numbered with the catechumens. On Saturday and Sunday of each week they come to the church, and unite with the children, already baptized, in the instructions which they receive there ; and we have the satisfaction of seeing a large number who persevere with fidelity in the resolution they have made of becoming true disciples of Jesus Christ.

Since our second discoveries, we have divided all this country into four missions. The first is that of Concho, or of our Lady of Loretto ; the second is that of Biaundo, or of Saint François Xavier ; the third, that of Yodivineggè, or of our Lady of Sorrows ; and the fourth, which is not yet as well established and founded as the other three, is that of Saint Jean de Londo. Each mission comprises many settlements.

We have built a chapel for the second mission ; but, as it has already been found to be too small, we have begun to erect a large church, the walls of which will be of brick and the roof of wood. The garden which belongs to the residence of the missionary furnishes already all kinds of herbs and vegetables ; while the Mexican trees we have planted are succeeding so well that in a short time they will be loaded with excellent fruits. The Bachelor Dom Juan Cavallero Scio, commissary of the Inquisition, and of this missionary crusade, of whom one scarcely knows which to praise

most, his zeal or piety, has founded these first two missions, and has been the principal promoter of all this great enterprise.

As it respects the Mission of our Lady of Sorrows, it only comprises Unubbè, which is on the northern side, Niumqui, or Saint Joseph, and Yodivineggè, or our Lady of Sorrows, which gives the name to the whole mission. Niumqui and Yodivineggè are two very populous settlements, quite near each other. The Brethren of the Congregation of Saint Peter and Saint Paul of our Society, formed in the city of Mexico, under the title of the "Sorrows of the Holy Virgin," and composed of the principal nobility of that great city, have founded this mission, and shown, on all occasions, a great ardor for the promotion of the faith, and for the conversion of these poor heathen.

To conclude, the Mission of Saint Jean de Londo contains five or six villages. The principal are Teupnon, or Saint Bruno, within three leagues of the coast at the east; Anchú, at an equal distance from the coast at the north; Tamouqui, which is at four leagues, and Diutro, at six leagues distance, looking toward the west. Father de Salvatierra, who burns with an ardent zeal to extend the kingdom of God, cultivates these two last missions with indefatigable care. I have left with him Father Jean d'Ugarte, who, after having rendered essential services to the missions in Mexico, wished at length to devote himself in person, for one year, to this work. He has made in a short time such great progress that, besides being able to preach perfectly in the two languages I have mentioned, he has

discovered on the southern side two villages, — Tripuè and Loppu, — where he has baptized twenty-three children, and has applied himself without intermission to the instruction of the others and of the adults.

Having thus given an account, Reverend Fathers, of the state of religion in this new colony, I will now endeavor to answer, as far as I am able, the other points on which you did me the honor to inquire. I will tell you, first, what we have been able to remark of the customs and disposition of these people, and the productions of the country. California is very correctly placed on our ordinary maps. During the summer the heat is great along the coast, and it rarely rains; but in the interior the climate is more mild, and the heat never excessive. There is the same relative difference in winter. In the rainy season there is a deluge of water; but when it is over, in place of the rain, the dew is found so abundantly every morning that one would suppose it had rained, and this renders the earth very fertile. In the months of April, May, and June, a kind of manna falls with the dew, which congeals and hardens on the leaves of the reeds, from which it is gathered. I have tasted it. It is a little darker than sugar, but has all its sweetness.

The climate is healthy, if we can judge by our own experience and that of those who were with us. For, during the five years we passed in that country, we were always well, notwithstanding the great fatigues we endured; and among the other Spaniards there occurred the deaths of but two persons, one of whom brought her illness on herself. It was the case of a

female, who had the imprudence to bathe when on the eve of her confinement.

There are in California, as in all the fairest countries of the world, wide plains, beautiful valleys, and grounds affording at all times excellent pasture for great and small cattle. Springs of living waters abound, while the banks of the streams and rivers are covered with willows, reeds, and wild vines. The rivers are full of fish, and there are found also plenty of crabs, which are transported to a kind of reservoir, where they are kept till needed. I have seen three of these reservoirs, very fine and large. They have also plenty of *xicames*, which are of better flavor than those which they eat through all Mexico. We can say, therefore, that California is a very fertile country. They find in the mountains the *mescal*¹ during the whole year, and at almost all seasons large *pistachio* nuts of different kinds, and figs of various colors. The trees are very beautiful, and among others those which the Chinos, who are natives of the country, call *palo santo*. It bears abundance of fruit, from which we procure excellent frankincense.

If the country is abounding in fruits, it is equally so in grains. There are four kinds which are used by the people for food. They use, also, the roots of trees and of plants, and among others that of the *yuca*, out of which they make a kind of bread. They have also excellent *chevis*,² which is much used for food, and

¹ This is a fruit indigenous to the country.

² The *chevis* is a soup-herb, the root of which is like a turnip, of an excellent flavor, sweet, pleasant, and good for food.

pumpkins and watermelons of an extraordinary size. The country is so fertile that it is not uncommon for many plants to bear fruit three times a year. This, with the labor they bestow on the cultivation of the earth, and some little skill they have in irrigation, renders all the land extremely productive, and every kind of fruit and grain can be cultivated there in great abundance. We have ourselves proved this ; for, having bought from New Spain wheat, maize, pease, and lentils, we have sown them, and raised an abundant harvest, although we had not proper instruments for turning up the earth, and had only the assistance in our labors of an old mule and a miserable plow.

Besides many species of animals with which we are acquainted, which are good for food, and are found there in great numbers, — such as stags, hares, rabbits, and others, — there are two species of fallow-deer, with which we had never previously met. We have called them sheep, because they are somewhat of the same shape as our sheep. The first species is of the size of a calf of one or two years of age, the head more resembling that of a stag, while the horns, which are exceedingly large, are like those of a ram. It has a tail ; and the hair, which is spotted, is shorter than that of the stag ; while the hoof is large, round, and cloven, like that of the ox. I have eaten of these animals, and found their flesh good and very delicate.

The other kind of sheep, some of which are white and some black, differ less from ours. They are larger, and have more wool ; it is easily spun, and can be used in work. The other animals, besides those which are

good for food, are lions, wildcats, and many others like the different varieties which are found in New Spain. We have carried into California some cows, and a quantity of smaller cattle, as sheep and goats, which would have multiplied very much, had not the extreme want to which we were reduced at different times obliged us to kill many of them. We have also taken there some horses and young mares to stock the country. We had commenced raising hogs; but as these animals are very destructive in the villages, and the women of the country are afraid of them, we have resolved to exterminate them.

As to birds, all those of Mexico, and almost all those of Spain, are found in California. There are pigeons, turtle-doves, larks, partridges of an excellent flavor and in great numbers, geese, ducks, and many other kinds of river and sea birds.

The sea is filled with fish, which are of a fine flavor. They fish for sardines, anchovies, and tunny-fish, which can be taken by the hand on the borders of the sea. Whales are often seen there, and different kinds of turtles. Quantities of shell-fish abound in the rivers, much larger than those which contain the mother-of-pearl.

They are not dependent on the sea for salt; for there are salt-springs, the salt of which is white and clear as crystal, but at the same time so hard that it is found necessary to break it with heavy blows of a hammer. It would have a ready sale in New Spain, where salt is so scarce.

During nearly two centuries that California has

been known, the coast has been celebrated for its pearl-fisheries, which have rendered it an object of the most earnest desire to Europeans, who have often made enterprises to establish themselves there. It is certain that, if the king would defray the expenses of this fishery, he would receive in return great wealth. Neither have I more doubt that mines could be found in many places, if they were sought for, since this country is under the same climate as Cinaloa and Sonora, which abound in this kind of riches.

Although Heaven has been so liberal to the inhabitants of California, and the earth produces spontaneously all that in other places can only be gained by great toil and labor, there is yet no instance of their accumulating the wealth of the country. Content to obtain what is necessary for the support of life, they give themselves little care for any thing beyond it. The country is thickly inhabited in the interior and along the northern coast ; and, although there are scarcely any settlements but contain twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty families, yet they have no dwellings. The shade of the trees defends them from the heat of the sun during the day, and they construct from the branches and foliage a kind of roof to protect them from unpleasant weather in the night. During the winter they shut themselves up in caves, which are hollowed out in the ground ; and there they remain, many together, differing but little from the beasts. The men are entirely naked, at least those whom we have seen. They bind around their heads a band of very delicate workmanship, or a kind of network ; and

they carry around their necks, and sometimes in their hands, for ornament, different figures of mother-of-pearl, equally well executed, and with much taste mingled with small berries, somewhat as we do the beads of a rosary. Their arms are the bow and arrows and the spear; but these they always carry in their hands, sometimes for the chase and sometimes for defence against their enemies; for the inhabitants of the different villages are almost always at war with each other.

The women are clothed a little more modestly, wearing, from the waist to the knees, a kind of apron woven of reeds, like a very fine mat. They cover their shoulders with the skins of beasts, and have upon their heads, like the men, a very delicate network. These nets are so convenient that our soldiers use them to fasten their hair. They have also, like the men, collars of mother-of-pearl, mingled with the stones of fruits and shells, hanging as low as their belts, and bracelets of the same materials as the collars.

The usual employment of both men and women is spinning. The thread is formed from fibrous herbs, which supply to them the place of linen or hemp; or from stringy substances, which they find in the rind of certain fruits. Of the fine thread they make the ornaments we have already mentioned, and of the coarse kind they manufacture bags for different purposes, and nets for fishing. Besides this, the men, with different kinds of herbs, the fibres of which are very close, and which they have great skill in using,

make a kind of dish and kitchen utensils, very novel, and of all sizes. The smallest pieces serve for cups, the medium size for plates and dishes, and sometimes for parasols, with which the women cover their heads; the largest are used as baskets to gather their fruits, and sometimes as pots and basins in which to cook them. But they take the precaution, while these vessels are over the fire, to keep them constantly moving, for fear the flames should touch them, in which case they would be immediately burned.

The Californians are full of vivacity, and have a natural talent for raillery. Of the latter they gave us proofs when we commenced instructing them; for, as soon as we made any mistake in their language, they began at once to banter and mock us. After they had held more communication with us, they contented themselves with honestly pointing out the errors which had escaped us. And as to the meaning of a doctrine, when the time came for us to explain the mysteries of our faith, or certain points of morality which were at variance with their prejudices or ancient errors, they waited for the preacher after the sermon, and disputed with him with both power and wit. If he advanced forcible arguments, they listened with docility; and, if he was able to convince them, they submitted, and followed the instructions prescribed them. We have not found among them any form of government, and scarcely any of religion or of religious worship. They offer prayers to the moon; and cut off their hair, which they give to their priests, who use it in different rites of superstition. Each family makes its own laws,

according to its taste ; and it is this, apparently, which causes them so often to be engaged in conflicts with each other.

Finally, I will satisfy you on the last point which you did me the honor to propose to me, and which seems to me the most important of all. It is with regard to the best way of extending and strengthening, more and more, the true faith in California, and maintaining with these people a commerce, permanent and useful, for the glory and interest of the nation. On these points I will speak as I think, and as the information I have been able to gain of the country and the genius of its people leads me to believe.

First, it will be absolutely necessary to make two shipments every year. The largest will be for New Spain, with which a commerce can be maintained very profitable to the two nations ; the other will be for the provinces of Cinaloa and Sonora, and by this means we shall be able to bring in new missionaries, and to furnish each year what is necessary for the support of those who are already there. The vessels used for these shipments can easily, between their voyages, be sent to the northern coast for new discoveries ; and the expense will be less if we employ the same officers and sailors whom we have hitherto used here ; because, living according to the customs of the country, their provisions cost them almost nothing, and, being well acquainted with the seas and coasts of California, they can navigate them with more speed and security.

Another important point is with regard to the defence and support of so many native-born Spaniards

who are now here, and of the missionaries who will come out with us and after us. As to the missionaries, since my arrival I have learned, with much gratitude and consolation, that our King Philip V. (whom may God preserve for many years) has already provided for them by his liberality, so truly pious and royal, having assigned to this mission a stipend of six thousand crowns a year, in consequence of what he had learned of the progress of the faith in this new colony. With this we can support a large number of laborers, who will undoubtedly come to our aid.

For the security of the Spaniards who are there, the fort we have already built will serve in case of need. It is situated in the quarter of St. Denis, in the place called Concho by the Indians, but to which we had given the name of our Lady of Loretto, and established there our first mission. It has four small bastions, and is surrounded by a good moat. We have made a parade-ground, and built barracks for the accommodation of the soldiers. The chapel of the Holy Virgin and the residence of the missionaries are near the fort. The walls of these buildings are of brick, and the roofs of wood. I left in the fort eighteen soldiers, with their officers, two of whom are married and have families, which will keep them more easily in this country. They had with them for servants eight Chinos Indians and negroes, and twelve sailors for the two little vessels, "Saint Xavier" and "Rosary," without counting twelve other sailors whom I have taken with me in the "Saint Joseph." We have been obliged to send back some soldiers, because, at first,

we had not enough to feed and support them ; and yet you see that this garrison is not sufficiently strong to defend our countrymen for any length of time, should the Indians determine to make a disturbance. It is necessary, then, to establish there a post, like that at New Biscay, and to place in one spot a force which shall have strength enough to act efficiently when necessary. This alone, without any violence, will be sufficient to keep the country quiet, as it hitherto has been, — thanks be to God ! — notwithstanding any mistakes we may have made.

The other matters might appear less important, but they are not really so, when examined more closely.

First, it would be proper to bestow some recompense on the soldiers who first came out to the colony. The good success with which we have hitherto met is owing in part to their courage ; and the hope of a similar distinction will influence others, and incite them to imitate the valor and wisdom of these pioneers.

Secondly, it is necessary so to arrange matters that some families of gentlemen and officers should come out to establish themselves here, to be able, by themselves and their children, to fill the different offices as soon as they become vacant.

Thirdly, it is of the last importance that the missionaries, and those who command in California, should always live in the most entire union. This has been the case to the present time, through the wise conduct and the judicious use which the Count de Montezuma, Viceroy of New Spain, has made of

the intelligence he received from us. But, as the missionaries are entirely occupied with the work of their ministry, it is necessary that they should be freed from the care of the troops, and that the royal treasury of Guadalaxara should furnish them with all that is necessary. It is much to be wished that the king himself should appoint some person of authority and credit, with the title of intendant or commissary-general, who would be willing, from his zeal and for the single object of contributing to the conversion of this country, to take upon himself the payment to each one of what shall be assigned him by the court, and to attend to the interests of the colonies. In this way all may be able to apply themselves without distraction to their own peculiar duties ; and ambition and interest will not, as often has happened, in a single moment ruin a work which has been established at so great an expense of time and labor and danger.

You have thus, Reverend Fathers, as it seems to me, every point on which you wished me to write you. It rests with your wisdom and judgment to decide how much it is well to make known to the king our master. It will be doubtless a great comfort to him to learn that, on his coming to the crown, God had opened to him so noble a career for his zeal. I had come here seeking the aid without which it will be impossible to preserve what we have already accomplished, or to advance much further this work of God. But the liberality of the prince has anticipated and far surpassed our demands. May the Lord protect his kingdom, so that it shall be the kingdom of God ; and

may he bestow on you, Reverend Fathers, a blessing equal to your zeal to promote the establishment of the faith in this vast country, which to the present time seems to have been entirely neglected.

At GUADALAXARA, the 10th day of February, in the year 1702.

III.

CAPE HORN IN 1704.

[In the year 1703, a company of the Jesuit Fathers left France, to double Cape Horn on their way to China to join the mission in that country. After passing the cape, they sailed along the western coast of South America, until they reached Lima. Here the Father writes his letter to the authorities of his Order at home. It is accompanied by a map of the southern extremity of South America. We have translated it, because so many of our own countrymen have made the same voyage that it may interest them to read an account of the manner in which it was done one hundred and seventy years ago.]

LETTER OF FATHER NYEL, *Missionary of the Society of Jesus, to the Reverend Father de la Chaise, of the same Society, Confessor of the King.*

At LIMA, the capital city of Peru, the 20th day of May, 1705.

MY MOST REVEREND FATHER, — The protection with which you have honored all the missionaries of our society, and the zeal with which you have aided the progress of the faith in the most distant regions, place us under obligations to express to you our gratitude. It is to fulfil this duty, and to give you an account of our voyage to China, of which we have so far accomplished but a small portion, that I now take the liberty of writing you. As the war going on at that time between the English and Dutch had closed

against us the passage of the Straits of Sonde and Malaque,¹ through one or the other of which it would be necessary for us to sail, if we took the route of the Indies by the East, we deemed it proper, in order to avoid this danger, to go by way of the Strait of Magellan and the Southern Ocean.

It was in the year 1703 that we left Saint Malo, — the Fathers de Brasles, de Rives, Hebrard, and myself, — in two ships, the “Saint Charles” and the “Muri-net,” bound for China, and commanded by Messrs. du Coudray-Perée and Fouquet, able men, and with much experience in navigation. We set sail on the 26th of December, with a favorable wind, which carried us in five days to the Canary Islands, which we could not fail to recognize. After having suffered from annoying calms under the line for an entire month, we resumed our route, and, after a voyage of three months, found ourselves about sixty leagues from the Strait of Magellan, through which we wished to pass to enter the Southern Ocean.

It seems to me entirely unnecessary to give you a description of this famous Strait, of which Ferdinand Magellan, so celebrated for his voyages around the world, made the first discovery almost two hundred years ago.² I much prefer to send you a correct and faithful map, made from the latest observations, which are much more exact than the preceding ones. We had already entered the first passage which presents itself at the opening of the Strait, and were even anchored in a nook on this side of Gregoire Bay, when

¹ Sunda and Malacca.

² It was in 1520.

suddenly a terrible gale surprised us, which broke successively four cables, and caused us to lose two anchors. We were in great danger of suffering shipwreck ; but God, out of regard to our prayers and our vows, was willing to deliver us, to reserve us, as we hope, for more severe trials, and to suffer at last a more glorious death for the honor of His name, and in defence of our holy faith.

We remained for fifteen days in this first passage, to search for the anchors we had lost, and to procure water from a river which M. Baudran de Bellestre, one of our officers, had discovered, and to which he gave his own name. During this period, I had several times the pleasure of landing, there to offer up our praises to God in this part of the world, to which the Gospel has never yet penetrated. We found the country low and level, broken up by small hills. The soil seemed to me to be very good, and well adapted to cultivation. There is every probability that in this very place, in the narrow part of the Strait, the Spaniards, in the reign of Philip II., erected the fortress of Nombre de Dios, when, having formed the rash and impracticable plan of closing against all other nations the passage of Magellan, they built there two villages. For this purpose they sent out a numerous fleet, under the command of Sarmiento. But, the tempest having battered and dispersed these ships, the captain arrived at the Strait in a very bad condition. He erected two fortresses, one at the entrance of the Strait, which, I think, was Nombre de Dios. The other, which was a little further on, he called

“Ciudad del Rey Philippe,” apparently in the place which to-day we have named “Port Famine,” because there these unfortunate Spaniards perished miserably, in want of food and every other necessary of life. We do not find, however, any vestige of these fortresses in either Strait.

We did not meet with any of the inhabitants of the country, because these people, on the approach of winter, are accustomed to retire further inland. But some French ships which had preceded us, and some which have followed us, have seen many of them further up the Strait. They have informed us that these people, who seemed docile and friendly, are for the most part large and robust, very tall, and of a swarthy complexion, similar to the other Americans.

I will not here speak to you, my Reverend Father, either of their disposition or their customs, for I do not wish to relate any thing uncertain or untrue ; but I will take the liberty to unfold to you the sentiments of compassion with which the grace and love of Jesus Christ inspired me on their account, on seeing the thick darkness which enveloped this forsaken country. On the one hand, I considered the little probability there was that we could undertake the conversion of these poor people, and the immense difficulties which would have to be overcome. On the other hand, the prophetic declaration of Jesus Christ with regard to the spread of the Gospel over the whole world often occurred to my mind ; that God has His appointed times and seasons to pour out on each country the treasures of His mercy ; that for twenty years past

our Fathers have carried the Gospel to places as far distant from the light as these ; that perhaps our Lord has not permitted us to accomplish our voyage to China by this new route, so that some of us, touched by the needs of these poor heathen, might determine to remain here ; that some most flourishing missions have owed their origin to a shipwreck, or some accidental meeting which could not have happened by chance. I prayed the Lord to hasten this happy moment, and I would have ventured to offer myself, if it be His will, for this noble enterprise. This was all that I felt able to do at the present time.

But I have learned since that my wishes had been anticipated, and, indeed, were not far from being already fulfilled ; for, on arriving in Chile, I was told that the Jesuits in that kingdom had resolved, on the first opportunity, to penetrate as far as the Strait of Magellan, from which some of their missions are only distant about a hundred leagues. To accomplish this will require the highest courage, for the crosses will be abundant. They will have to encounter the greatest severity of cold, to penetrate frightful deserts, and to follow the savages in their long journeys. This would be, in truth, in the South, what the mission to the Iroquois and to the Hurons of Canada is in the North, for those who shall have the glory to accomplish here what has been doing in those countries for nearly a century, with so much toil and fortitude.

After this little digression, I return to our voyage. As the accident which had delayed us, by the loss of

our cable and anchors, rendered it impossible for us to pass through the Strait of Magellan (where one is obliged to anchor every night), and as the winter of this country was at hand, our captains resolved, without further loss of time, to seek, by the Strait of Le Maire, a passage to the Southern Ocean more sure and easy. We therefore weighed anchor on the 11th of April, in the year 1704, to leave the Strait of Magellan, and seek that of Le Maire. Two days afterwards, we found ourselves at the entrance of this second Strait, through which we passed in five or six hours, in beautiful weather. We coasted very near the shore of the land of Del Fuego, or De Feu, which seemed to me to be an archipelago of many islands, rather than one single continent, as has been supposed to the present time.

I ought here to remark, in passing, an error of considerable importance in our maps, both ancient and modern: that they give to Terre de Feu, which extends from the Strait of Magellan to that of Le Maire, a much greater length than it really has; for, according to the exact observations we made, it appeared certain that it is not more than sixty leagues, although it has much more ascribed to it. The Terre de Feu is inhabited by savages, of whom we know even less than we do of those of the Terre Magellanique. It has received the name of Terre de Feu on account of the great number of fires which those who first discovered it saw in the night.

Certain documents inform us that Garcius de Nodel, having obtained of the King of Spain two frigates to

explore this new Strait, anchored there in a bay, where he found many of the islanders, who seemed to him docile and of a good disposition. If we may credit these narratives, those barbarians are as white as the Europeans ; but they disfigure their bodies, and change the natural color of their faces, by variegated paintings. They are half covered with skins of animals, wearing around their necks a collar of white and shining shells, and about their bodies a girdle of leather. Their ordinary food is a species of bitter herb, which grows in the country, the flower of which is somewhat similar to that of our tulips. These people rendered all sorts of service to the Spaniards ; they labored with them, and brought them the fish they had caught. They were armed with bows and arrows, which they had ornamented with stones of curious workmanship ; and they carried with them a species of stone knife, which they laid on the ground with their arms when they approached the Spaniards, to show that they trusted in them. Their huts were formed of trees, interlaced one with the other ; and they had made in the roof, which terminated in a point, an opening to give free passage to the smoke. Their canoes, made of the bark of large trees, were very properly constructed. They cannot hold more than seven or eight men, being only twelve or fifteen feet in length and two in breadth. In shape they are nearly the same as the gondolas of Venice. These Indians repeat often, "*Hoo ! Hoo !*" but it is impossible to say whether it is a natural cry, or some particular word in their language. They appear to have

quickness of mind, and some of them learned very easily the Lord's Prayer.

To mention one thing more: this coast of Terre de Feu is very elevated. The base of the mountains is filled with large trees, and their summits are almost always covered with snow. In many places we found a secure anchorage, convenient for taking in wood and water. In passing through the Strait, we saw at our left, at a distance of about three leagues, the island of the Etats de Hollande,¹ which seemed to be equally elevated and mountainous.

At last, having passed the Strait of Le Maire, and seen numerous islands that are marked on our maps, we began to experience the rigor of this climate during winter, in the severe cold, hail, and unceasing rains, and in the shortness of the days, which did not last but eight hours, and which, being always very gloomy, left us in a kind of continual night. Then we entered the stormy sea, where we were subjected to severe gales of wind, which separated our vessel from that commanded by M. Fouquet, and where we endured violent tempests, which made us fear, more than once, that we should be wrecked upon some unknown shore. We did not, however, go beyond fifty-seven and a half degrees of South Latitude; and, after having battled for fifteen days against the violence of head winds in tacking, we doubled Cap de Hornes, which is the most southern point of Terre de Feu. And here I must again point out an error in our maps, which places Cap de Hornes at fifty-seven

¹ Now called Staten Land. — *Trans.*

and a half degrees. This cannot be ; for, although we reached that height of latitude, as I have said, we passed at a distance from the Cape, so that we did not see it. It is this which induces me to decide that its true situation should be fifty-six and a half degrees at the utmost.

As the great peril of our voyage in this sea consisted in doubling Cap de Hornes, we now continued our route with less difficulty. By degrees we found ourselves in seas more smooth and tranquil ; so that, after a voyage of four months and a half, we reached the port of Conception, in the kingdom of Chile, where we anchored on the 13th of May, being Whitsunday. We have in this city a college of our Society, where the Fathers received us with great demonstrations of friendship.

Conception is a city which is the seat of a Bishop ; but it is poor, and with a small population, although the soil is fertile and yields abundantly. There is, however, a much better market here than in Peru, except for European commodities, which are sold very dear. The houses are low and badly built, without furniture or ornament. The churches show the effect of the poverty of the country. The streets are like those in our villages in France. The harbor is fine, large, and secure, although the north wind often prevails there, at least during the winter and autumn.

Eight days after our arrival at Conception, the "Murinet," which had been separated from us, as I have said, came to anchor in the same port, and we were relieved of the fear we had felt that some unfor-

tunate accident had happened to her. We did not remain at Conception a longer time than was necessary for us to lay in some supplies, and rest ourselves a little from the fatigues of our voyage. Thus, fifteen days afterward, we sailed for Peru, having left the "Murinet" at Conception, as they required more time to repair the vessel and recruit themselves.

The first port of Peru in which we anchored was Arica, in about nineteen degrees of South Latitude. This city and its port, in former times, were very celebrated, because there they embarked the immense treasure which they took from the mines of Peru, to carry it by sea to Lima. But since the English corsairs have infested these seas with their cruises and piracies, it has been thought best to convey it by land, though attended with great expense. We remained almost five months in this port and that of Hilo, which is thirty leagues distant, but has nothing about it worthy of mention. As we felt the most earnest longings for our beloved mission in China, it was with great regret that we endured so long and annoying a delay; and from that time we began to fear that our ships would never accomplish the voyage to China.

The most peculiar thing with regard to Peru is, that there one never experiences rain, hail, thunder, or lightning. The weather is always beautiful, serene, and calm. A wind, which usually blows about the middle of the day, and which has the same effect as the north wind has in France, freshens the atmosphere, and renders it more endurable. But earth-

quakes are frequent, and we have experienced two or three since we have been here.

After having made so long a stay at Arica and at Hilo, we resumed our voyage to Lima, and came to anchor at Pisco, which is only forty leagues distant from it. Near this port, in former times, was a celebrated city, situated on the sea-shore; but it was almost entirely ruined and destroyed by the earthquake which took place on the 19th of October, in the year 1682, and which also did considerable injury to Lima. The sea, overflowing its natural bounds, engulfed that unfortunate city, which they have endeavored to re-establish somewhat further back, more than a quarter of a league from the sea. We had there a beautiful and extensive college, which they have commenced rebuilding in the new city.

As the Reverend Father, the Rector of Lima, had invited us to come by land to this capital city of Peru, which is near Callao, where our ships would be, we went thither — Father de Brasles and myself — to take a little repose after our long and wearisome voyage. Our Spanish Fathers, who had been impatiently expecting us for so long a time, received us with every demonstration of esteem, and tender and sincere charity.

Lima, the capital of Peru, and the usual residence of the viceroy, is a finer city than Orleans. The plan of the city is beautiful and regular. It is situated on a level plain at the foot of the mountains. A small river runs by its side, which does not contain much water, except in the summer, when it is swelled in an

extraordinary manner by the torrents which fall from the neighboring mountains when the snows melt.

In the centre of Lima is a handsome and extensive square, bordered on one side by the palace of the Viceroy, which has nothing magnificent about it, and on another by the cathedral church and the palace of the Archbishop. The two other sides are occupied by private houses and some merchants' shops. We trace there, even at this day, the sad effects of the ruin and general desolation produced by the earthquake of which I have spoken. As these earthquakes are so frequent in Peru, their houses are not built high. Those at Lima are almost always of one story. They are built of wood or earth, and covered with a flat roof, which serves for terraces.

But if the houses make little show, the streets are beautiful, wide, and spacious. They are straight, and intersected at regular distances by cross-streets not so large, for the facility and convenience of commerce. The churches of Lima are magnificent, and built in accordance with the rules of art and the finest Italian models. The altars are appropriate and superbly ornamented; and, although there is such a large number of churches, they are, notwithstanding, all admirably kept up. Gold and silver are not spared, but the workmanship does not equal the richness of the material; for we see nothing there, in gold or silver work, which can compare with the beauty and delicacy of such work in France and Italy. We have five Houses at Lima, the principal of which is the College of St. Paul's.

The harbor of Lima, which usually goes by the name of Callao, is two leagues distant. It is a very excellent and safe port, large enough to hold a thousand ships. Twenty or thirty are ordinarily lying there, which are used by the merchants in trading to Chile, Panama, and other ports of New Spain.

This would be the place, my Reverend Father, to give you a particular account of this celebrated kingdom, — its government, ancient and modern ; its mines, so famous through all Europe ; the traits and customs of its inhabitants ; the fruits and plants which are peculiar to it, — but as this would require more time and ability than I possess, you will excuse me from this labor, and allow me here to finish my narrative.

Several months had now elapsed, during which we had been enjoying this repose at Lima, and we prepared to return to the sea-shore, and embark for China, when our captains informed us that, finding themselves not in a condition to undertake so long a voyage, they were obliged to return to France. This resolution did not surprise us. They were right ; but their decision deeply troubled us, for we saw ourselves frustrated, at least for a time, in our dearest hopes. After having, therefore, earnestly commended this matter to the Lord, and asked for the light of the Holy Spirit to show us what we ought to do in so sad a conjuncture, we formed the resolution of going to Mexico, and passing over from thence to the Philippine Islands, from which it would be easy for us to reach China. Father de Rives, one of our dear asso-

ciates, finding his constitution much impaired by the exposures of so long a voyage, felt obliged to return to France with the ships which had brought us to this country. For ourselves, since God has preserved our health even to this present time, although we are well aware of all the difficulties which await us in the fatiguing passage we have still to make, yet we will undertake it, full of courage and hope that Heaven will protect us, and conduct us happily to the end we so much desire. It is this grace which all our Fathers ask you to pray for us, that we may have strength to sacrifice our lives in the glorious ministry of the preaching of the Gospel, and the conversion of the heathen, adopting always for the rule of our conduct the holy maxims and counsels, so full of wisdom, which you had the goodness to give us when we had the honor to receive your orders. I am, with the most lively gratitude and the most respectful attachment, &c.

IV.

THE MONASTERIES OF MOUNT LEBANON.

1721.

[FROM the earliest ages a deep interest has invested the mountains of Lebanon. Moses, in his closing days, when told that he could not enter Canaan, prayed, "Let me go over and see that goodly mountain, even Lebanon." Solomon, in the Canticles, compares the bride to "a fountain of gardens, a well of living waters, and streams from Lebanon." And Jeremiah alludes to another feature of the scenery, mentioned in the following letter, when he asks, "Will a man leave the snow of Lebanon, which cometh from the rock of the field?"

Its cedars were world-renowned when Solomon built the first temple. His own palace, probably supported by numerous pillars of that wood, was called "the house of the forest of Lebanon." And again they are alluded to, when that phrase is used, "He cast forth his roots as Lebanon."

When monachism arose in the church, devotees turned to this as consecrated ground. For ages this range of mountains was crowded with monasteries, and peopled by the dwellers in hermitages, till it had ceased to be a solitary retreat. The author of the following letter visited it when, indeed, this system was in its wane, but still enough was left to show what it once had been. It is the only picture we know of those long departed scenes.]

NARRATIVE of a Journey to *Cannobin*, on Mount Lebanon, sent to Father *Fleurian* by Father *Petitqueux*, Jesuit Missionary.

I HAVE the honor to send you, my Reverend Father, the account which you have asked of my journey to Mount Lebanon. I know that others of our missionaries have made this before me, and that they have not failed to give you a narrative of it. The desire which I have to render mine agreeable to you impresses me with a strong belief that you will find in my account some points which they have omitted in theirs. In any case, my ready compliance will stand in the place of merit in your eyes.

We left Tripoli¹ — the Father Bonamour and myself — on the 13th of October, 1721, having for our guides three Maronites of Mount Lebanon. We travelled together for the next four days, to reach Arges, a little village situated at the foot of the mountains of Lebanon, and six leagues distant from the Cedars. With all the speed we were able to make, we did not arrive there until after six hours of the night had passed, travelling by moonlight. We were obliged to pass the rest of the night on the floor

¹ This must not be confounded with a city of the same name on the northern coast of Africa. Tripoli, in Syria, is near the mouth of a small river, called Kadisha, at the foot of Mount Lebanon, and seventy-five miles north-west of Damascus. In 1101 it was taken by the Crusaders, and held by Raymond, Count of Toulouse, till 1288, when it was retaken by Melec Messor, sultan of Egypt, who ordered it to be razed to its foundation. See "Volney's Travels," &c. — *Trans.*

of a miserable hovel, built of reeds, where we suffered all the while from a high and piercing wind.

We set out the next day before light. Our guides led us over the most rugged roads, in which we were greatly fatigued, and made but little progress. We passed a little village, named Antourin, the lord of which, having seen us, came to meet us, and invited us to dine with him. It would have been well for us if we had accepted this invitation; for scarcely had we got half a league distant from his residence, when we encountered a violent rain-storm, exceedingly cold, accompanied by hail and thunder, which lasted without cessation for two hours, during which we were unable to find any place of shelter. Our clothes were at once wet through; and we travelled through mud mid-leg deep, and over ravines filled with water, which threatened to drown us. The rain, which formed a stream under our feet, was changed to snow on the neighboring mountains.

At length, after indescribable fatigues, we arrived at Marserkis, a monastery of the Reverend Carmelite Fathers. The succor of their charity came to us most opportunely; for they provided us, at their residence, with every thing that was necessary to relieve the pitiable state in which we were. We remained during the 15th in their house to rest ourselves. The monastery is situated at the foot of a rock of such frightful height that it is inaccessible except to eagles or vultures, which make it their resort.

The caves constructed in the rock, which forms a large portion of the building, have been rendered

equally beautiful and commodious by nature and art. The chapel is a grotto of reasonable size, but as appropriate as if it had been cut out of the stone by the chisel. An abundant fountain of very clear and pure water flows from the rock, which irrigates the garden after having passed through all those parts of the building where water is necessary. The garden abounds in vegetables. A residence at Marserkis is delightful in summer, and the Carmelite Fathers pass six months of the year there ; but the snow and the severe cold of Lebanon render a sojourn there so insupportable during the winter that they are obliged to abandon their caves from the first cold until Easter, and to retire to Tripoli.

The next day, the 16th, we were conducted to the cedars of Lebanon. The roads not having again dried up after the rains which had taken place, we had much difficulty in accomplishing the single league from Marserkis to the cedars, which we could see at a distance.

We examined them at our leisure. They are situated on a small mountain, which forms at its summit a somewhat extended plain. This plain is encompassed by mountains much higher than it, and which are covered with snow.

These cedars, so famous through the whole world, are in great numbers on this plain ; but those that are small and young are much more numerous than those that are large and ancient. I did not count more than a dozen of extraordinary size. We measured the largest, and found they were thirty-six feet in

circumference.¹ We found some which, after having grown up some distance in one trunk, formed five or six trees, which were each of such size that two men could with difficulty clasp it around. But when these trees reunited again at the height of their trunk, they were of wonderful size. Their height is proportioned to their width. Travellers, who have the habit of carving their names everywhere they go, have made great incisions on the surface of the largest cedars to inscribe them there. From these incisions there flows out an excellent balsam in the form of a gum, the effect of which is admirable in healing wounds, and of which we at once made trial on the spot.

At the foot of the largest cedars are four stone altars. On the festival of the Transfiguration of our Lord, the Patriarch of the Maronites repairs thither, accompanied by a large number of Bishops, priests, and members of the Religious Orders, and followed by five or six thousand Maronites, who come thither from all parts to celebrate there the fête, which they call the Festival of the Cedars. Although the Maronites celebrate this Festival on the day of the Transfiguration of our Lord, this does not prove that they believe, as some historians have said without any foundation, that the Transfiguration took place on this mountain. In the office which they use in the services of this day, they say expressly that it took place on Mount Tabor.

What has given occasion to this opinion of these historians is, that they are able to state that Tabor

¹ "Six brasses de circuit." A *brasse* is six feet. — *Trans.*

forms part of the mountains which have one common name, and which they call Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon.

These mountains of Lebanon extend from the borders of the sea to the sources of the Jordan, or to Mount Carmel, even to one or two days' journey from Damascus. The mountains of Anti-Lebanon are those which extend farther into the country, and which are separated from the mountains of Lebanon by a great plain, which commences one or two days' journey from Damascus, on the side towards Balbec, and which they commonly call the Boque. The mountains of Anti-Lebanon are so called because they are opposite those of Lebanon, and look towards them.

The plain on which these grand cedars stand has an atmosphere so cold that no one wishes to dwell there, although the situation is very delightful. We found there a great quantity of medicinal herbs and of very rare simples.

Game of all kinds is common there. They have nothing to fear but from the vultures and other birds of prey. The land would be very fertile if it were cultivated. It produces a great quantity of bushes, which bear a kind of berry, black and of a very agreeable taste.

Lebanon was formerly covered with cedars, which to-day are only found on the plain I have mentioned, and on one other mountain near Canobin. Joiners' work, which is very handsomely executed, is made here from the wood of the cedar.

On the 16th we left the Monastery of Marserkis to

go to that of Marélicha, which is only a league distant. The Father Vicar and two other members of the Order accompanied us. The Monastery of Marélicha, that is to say, of Saint Elisa, is situated at the foot of a frightful mountain, and on the bank of a river called Nahr-Gadischa, which means the Holy River. It runs into a deep valley, very narrow, the sides of which are adorned with pine-trees, walnuts, oaks, and vines. At thirty feet from the river, we see on each side a chain of mountains rising, almost entirely covered with rocks.

These rocks form deep caves, which in old times were the cells of a multitude of hermits, who had chosen these retreats to be the sole witnesses on earth of the severity of their unceasing penitence. It is the tears of these holy penitents which have given to the river we have mentioned the name of the Holy River. Its source is in the mountains of Lebanon. The sight of these caves and of this river in the frightful desert inspired me with the feeling of contrition, with the love of penitence, and with compassion for those sensual and worldly souls who prefer a few days of enjoyment and pleasure to an eternity of happiness.

The Superior of the Monastery of Saint Elisa received us with great demonstrations of love. The monastery is composed of twenty monks, who are called Alepins. They are almost the only ones who merit the name of being members of a religious order.

A holy priest, named Abdalla, established them there about twenty-five years ago. He particularly

took counsel of the late Father Nicolas Bazire in shaping the life and religious course of their brethren. He was their first Superior. Afterwards they withdrew him against his own wishes from his monastery to make him a Bishop. Our mission of Antoura is in his diocese. He left as his successor in his monastery the Priest Gabriel, a monk of rare modesty and of exemplary piety. He is universally esteemed and honored by the Maronites, the Greeks, and even the Turks, on account of his profound knowledge in the Arabic language.

The members of the Order of the Alepins undergo two years of novitiate. They never eat meat, are poorly clothed, and chant the Office at midnight. We took part in it three times, and were exceedingly edified by their modesty in the church and the fervor of their chanting. One part of the day they spend in the cultivation of the ground and in domestic duties. They confess every day, morning and evening, to their Superiors. They observe their rules with the most scrupulous exactness, and particularly that with regard to silence and rigorous fasting. They rarely see any thing of the outside world. Women are never admitted into their church. If it should happen that a member of the Order becomes remiss and wearies in his vocation, the Superior counsels him to retire, even though he had made the profession for ten years. The Superior has power to free them from their vows.

We remained in this monastery till the 18th. On the morning of that day we left with our guides to go to Canobin, which is only two good leagues from the

Monastery of Saint Elisa. On our way we saw the remains of many ancient monasteries, which the hermits had formerly inhabited, and which to-day are deserted, having been ruined by the Metualis, the heretical Turks.

We saw also the ruins of some of these monasteries situated on rocks so steep that we could not comprehend how it was possible for any one to ascend to them.

We entered a chapel, admirably excavated from the rock, which contained two altars. On the one is an image of the Holy Virgin, and on the other that of St. Anthony. By the side of this chapel, and in the same rock, we saw some deserted cells, where the hermits once lived, passing a life which was certainly not one of ease. The Holy River flows at the foot of these mountains for a course of five or six leagues.

At Canobin, where we arrived, is the residence of the Patriarch of the Maronites. We were received there with great affection. There are only a small number of monks, who are very poorly lodged and equally poorly clothed and fed. The Patriarch, with these monks and some Maronite Bishops who are with him, all live together in a perfect union, and in a simplicity and purity of manners very exemplary. The lightest faults are very severely punished. The monastery, poor as it is, receives strangers most charitably, in the true spirit of hospitality.

The Patriarch was clothed in a dress of crimson, with a border of fur. Under this habit he had a cas-

sock of purple color. The modesty of this was very marked.

The church of the monastery is dedicated to the Holy Virgin. The Patriarch told us that it had an antiquity of fourteen hundred years. It is one vast cave, out of which they have formed the church, which is quite handsome, and ornamented with pictures. The Patriarch pointed out to us the portraits of Innocent XI. and of Louis XIV. We assisted at the performance of Service in the day and in the night. Their liturgy is very ancient. It is composed in the ancient Syriac, with a small part in Arabic, but written in Syriac letters, which they call *Kerchora*.

The cells of the monks are in the caves near the church. To remain there winter and summer necessarily exposes them to the injurious effects of the weather. The Patriarch caused us to see the chamber which bears the name of the three Jesuits — that is, the Fathers Jean Bruno, Jean Baptiste Ælien, and Jerome Dandiric — who were sent, in 1581, by Gregory XIII., and afterwards by Clement VIII. Gregory sent the first two to induce the Maronites to accept the Council of Trent ; and Clement sent the last to cause them to abjure, in a synod of the Patriarch, the Maronite bishops and priests, the errors of a schismatic Council. The Council of Trent was received, and the schism proscribed.

During our short stay at Canobin, the Patriarch showed us the honor of always eating with himself and the monks. The most perfect frugality is observed there. Vegetables prepared with oil, some

radishes, and a little salt fish, with bread, dry and black, composed all the entertainment which they gave us. But the wine was excellent, and we do not drink better in France.

The Patriarch made all the solicitations possible to detain us a longer time in his monastery ; but, the day of our departure having been fixed, we took our leave, after having assisted in the service in the night, and celebrated the Holy Mass. The Patriarch did us the honor to give us his own ornaments, which were very appropriate. We asked his blessing, and departed. He sent with us his deacon to serve as our guide on the roads in which it would be difficult to find our way.

Within a stone's throw of the gate of the monastery, we found the chapel dedicated to Saint Mazine. The whole country, filled with the odor of the sanctity of this virgin, preserves for her an extraordinary veneration. No one calls in question what the historians report of her life. They tell us that this virgin, acting under a divine inspiration, concealed her sex under a religious habit, and, clothed in this dress, served God for many years. They add that, God having permitted her to be accused of a fault with a female in the neighborhood, she was condemned by the Superior to go through a severe penance in the cave, which is to-day the chapel in which she is honored ; but that God, who always regards the interests of his servants, whether male or female, at her death caused the innocence of this illustrious virgin to shine forth, and proclaimed her virtue to the world by many

remarkable miracles, which were wrought at her tomb.

After having offered up our prayers at this holy chapel, we proceeded on our way to Saint Anthony, which is about two leagues distant from Canobin. To reach there, it was necessary to climb the most rugged mountain I have ever seen, and then to descend it. The Monastery of Saint Anthony is situated on the side next to an exceedingly steep rock. There were there at that time thirty of the Alepin monks, of whom I have already spoken. Besides these monks there are twelve priests. The Bishop Abdule, their founder and first Superior before he became a Bishop, received us with great kindness. This prelate lives in the monastery the life of a true saint. He is lodged as simply as the monks, and, however austere may be their lives, he causes his to be still more so. He is not distinguished from them except by his dress, which is of a violet color.

We remained there nearly two entire days, to enable us to see the monastery and its environs. The monastery is divided into two parts, which are separated from each other. Each part has its church, though the Service is usually performed only in the largest of the two. The only ornament of the two churches consists in their neatness. The prelate conducted us to other caves, which are also used as chapels. We saw one among them which is large and beautiful, and dedicated to Saint Michael. It contains three altars, and two small chambers for the monks, who perform there their spiritual exercises. On the brow

of the mountain opposite are two other caves, where two monks of the monastery lead an entirely solitary life. They never go out, and never speak to any one except to the Superior, when they each day confess to him. They are both priests, and say Mass in a little chapel formed in the rock.

It is impossible for any one to be more edified than I have been by the pious works which I saw performed by the monks in this monastery. After having passed two days with them, I took leave of the Bishop Abdule, who gave me a guide, who was very necessary to enable me to cross mountains on the edge of precipices, and to reach Argès by roads with which we were unacquainted.

From Argès to Tripoli it is but four leagues. These four leagues are over a single plain, which is very pleasant, planted with olives and many other trees of different kinds. I arrived happily at Tripoli, from which I had set out. There, thanks to God! I resumed the duties of our mission. The infectious diseases prevailing have increased our labors, but the danger which is inseparable from them has not diminished the zeal of our missionaries. We should be ashamed not to imitate them. As we have continual need of the grace of God, we would ask you and all our Fathers to beseech God for us in their Holy Sacrifices. I am, with respectful attachment for your Reverence, my Reverend Father, your humble and obedient servant, &c.

V.

THE KNIGHTS OF MALTA.

1711.

[THE story of the Knights of Saint John is one of the most romantic chapters in the history of the world. The offspring of the Crusades, called into being not only to contend against the infidel, but more especially to minister to their brethren in the hospitals at Jerusalem, we trace them from their first home in the Holy Land, to Cyprus, Candia, and Rhodes, till we find them at their last stronghold, at Malta.

When the Jesuit Father wrote the account of his visit which follows, the glory of the Order had begun to wane. The decay of the chivalrous spirit of the Middle Ages, and more, perhaps, the change in the manner of warfare which modern science had introduced, entirely altered the position of the Knights. The romance had departed. They no longer —

“ Carved at the meal
With the gloves of steel,
And drank the red wine through the helmet barred.”

And so the Order continued to grow less and less useful to the world, until, in 1798, the French took the Island of Malta, and scattered its members. Since then it has existed merely as a name.

There is no date to this letter ; but, comparing it with some others addressed to the same individual, we cannot widely err in fixing it at about 1711.]

LETTER of a Missionary in Greece to Father Fleurian.

MY REVEREND FATHER,—It is in obedience to your orders that I have the honor to send you a narrative of our voyage from Marseilles to Smyrna.

We have safely arrived in this city ; and, after having here returned our solemn thanks to God for His continual protection during our voyage, we ought also to make our acknowledgments to you for having obtained for us admission into the ranks of the Gospel laborers, that we are permitted to take part in their duties, so appropriate to our Order.

After having taken leave of you in Paris, we repaired to Marseilles, the place from which we were to embark. There we waited a long time for the departure of a good vessel, which they informed us every day was ready to sail. At length, weary of this long delay, and regretting the time we were losing, we embarked in a little merchant vessel, which had a crew of only five men. The captain, however, was an honest man, who was very desirous of receiving us on board without any charge, and promised to land us promptly at Smyrna.

The day of our departure being as beautiful as we could wish, we had reason to hope that our captain would fulfil his promise ; but, the weather at sea being as inconstant and fickle as the most brilliant fortunes of the world, we presently experienced a change. The wind, so favorable, suddenly increased in violence, so that our sails and our little vessel were rudely

shaken. We had the greatest difficulty in keeping our places where we were sitting. I do not speak of other inconveniences, but confine myself entirely to those which are experienced at sea.

We brought with us a young surgeon, who was allotted to us ; for, through the interest of his medical profession, which is very much honored in the Levant, we can gain the protection of the Turkish officers, and have the houses of the Christian population opened to the word of God.

This good young man, who had never before been at sea, was so frightened by the violence of the wind that, thinking himself lost, he came to me, pale as death, requesting me to confess him. I took advantage of this good impulse to have him perform this pious act. In a little while afterwards, the wind having calmed, his fears calmed equally. But, however high had been the wind, we, nevertheless, could not complain of it, for its violence had served to advance us on our way.

On the third day after our departure, we doubled the Island of Saint Peter, which is the point of that of Sardinia. We looked with veneration on this island, which was formerly the place of exile of so many holy bishops and other defenders of our faith, who there gloriously ended their lives in one long martyrdom.

After having passed the shores of Sardinia, we thought that our captain would stop at the Island of Malta. But, as he was not in want of provisions, he took a course twenty-five miles distant from it, leaving Malta on the right. A gale of wind, however,

followed, which treated our ship so roughly as to oblige us to gain as quickly as possible this island, which he had wished to avoid.

We arrived there at a convenient hour to be conducted to the House of the Jesuits. Our Fathers received us there with much kindness and love. There we found Father de la Motte, Confessor of the French Knights, and one other of our Fathers, who is appointed here to teach mathematics. The last has since died at Marseilles, in the service of those who were attacked by the plague.

My sick fellow-traveller was in a little while recovered by the good treatment which our Fathers gave him, and particularly by the devotion to him of M. the Chevalier de Sarasse, who is perfectly skilled in the medical science, and who honored us with his friendship. Our captain, obliged to remain at Malta much longer than he wished, gave us sufficient time to see every thing which merited the notice of strangers. Two of our Fathers most obligingly offered their services to accompany us wherever we wished to go, and we availed ourselves of their kindness.

I have the honor to say to you, my Reverend Father, that we were charmed, as are all strangers, with the beauty of the island, its advantageous situation, the construction of the city, built on an exceedingly steep rock, and defended by fortifications which render the place the strongest in all Europe. But, after having seen and well considered every thing which merited our attention, whether on the island or in the cities, I avow to you that I have seen nothing

which appeared more worthy of admiration and praise than the wisdom of the government which rules there, the perfect order which is everywhere observed, the noble and edifying conduct of the Knights, joined to their extreme politeness to every one, and particularly to strangers. The people endeavor to imitate as much as they are able this politeness of their masters.

The Grand Master rules as a sovereign over the people, and as a Superior over all those of the Order. He has constantly at his court a very great number of Knights of the most ancient and illustrious houses of all Christian nations; for they knew that there was nothing which conveyed so great an honor as to be one of the Knights of Malta.

The city of Malta is divided into three parts by an arm of the sea. The three parts are three cities, and as many peninsulas. They are fortified by the rocks which surround them. Art and nature have been so happily united that they have not left any weak point on which an attack could easily be made.

The city where the Grand Master makes his residence is the principal one. It is named La Valette. The isle where the Inquisitor lives is called Le Bourg; and the third is the Island of Saint Michel. The port which contains the galleys of this religious Order is the largest and most considerable. It is defended on one side by the Castle of Saint Elmo, and on the other by the Castle of Saint Ange. These are the two fortresses which keep the galleys in safety.

One person with whom I met told me that he had counted eighteen hundred pieces of cannon which

defend the city and port, and I think the actual number is much greater. The city, on the land side, has two circles of fortifications, which are cut in the rock. The houses are built in the form of an amphitheatre. They all have flat roofs, to prevent the effects of a bombardment ; for, in case of a siege, they cover the houses with earth and dung, which deaden the effects of the bombs.

The city is very finely built, the houses commodious and highly ornamented ; but it seems as if Malta had exhausted all its magnificence in building a vast and superb hospital, where all the sick, of whatever nation, condition, or faith, are received, cared for, and entertained, generally in every respect gratuitously.

Although the Order of the Knights of Malta is by its institution a religious one, it does not omit to be an Order of religious Knights Hospitalers. The Order has therefore kept in view constantly and carefully the object of its establishment ; for, while the Knights have always arms in their hands to combat the enemies of the faith, they are also always prepared to exercise their charity towards the sick in the hospital. To enable all the Knights to have the opportunity of practising this, each hall or priory has its day designated for coming to serve the sick. The Knights of the Auberge of Provence have Monday ; the Auberge of France, Tuesday ; the Auberge of Auvergne, Wednesday ; the Auberge of Castile, Thursday ; the Auberge of Arragon, Friday ; the Auberge of Italy, Saturday ; and that of Germany, Sunday. The sick are served in vessels of silver.

The Grand Master, preceded by the Knights' Grand Cross, comes every morning, and often in the afternoon, to visit the hospital, to learn for himself if the commanders have discharged their duty towards the sick, and if they are well cared for and want nothing. If among the sick he finds any of the Knights, the Grand Master waits on them himself.

I do not think it is possible for a person to see any thing more edifying than the order which is observed in the hospital. The charity of the Knights is carried so far that one may often see them practising among themselves acts of virtue to be compared with those which we admire in the greatest saints.

The Bishop of Malta, the Prior of the Church of Saint John, and the Grand Inquisitor, have each their spiritual jurisdiction. The Prior, who is the spiritual guide of the Knights, has the principal authority. Except the power of conferring Orders, he has all the other authority which appertains to Bishops. He wears the Episcopal ornaments, approves the confessors for the Knights, and regulates the duties of the clergy.

The Bishop makes his residence at Citta Vecchia. His church is beautiful, the canons wearing the violet hood, like the Bishops. The Church of Saint John is the principal church of our faith, and the most richly ornamented. Among the most remarkable of their treasures, we saw two large figures of silver, of the size of life, the one representing Saint John and the other Saint Luke. They are placed on the two sides of the grand altar. Between the choir and the nave is a lamp of silver, which cost, it is said, sixty thousand

crowns of Malta. It was a gift from the Commander Fardella de Trapano. Each language of the Knights has its particular chapel in the church. These chapels are incrustated with the most beautiful marbles.

In the Faubourg of Citta Vecchia we saw a very handsome chapel, dedicated to the great Apostle Saint Paul. At the side of the chapel can be seen a cave, to which, tradition tells us, the holy Apostle withdrew, for the space of three months and some days, after his shipwreck. The Acts of the Apostles, which have informed us of the circumstances, have not left us ignorant of another occurrence. They relate that Paul and his companions, having kindled a large fire to dry their clothes, a viper came forth from the midst of the brambles, fastened itself on the hand of Paul, and attached itself there so thoroughly that those present, who were witnesses of it, did not doubt that the sting of the venomous reptile would cause his death. But they were much surprised when they saw that the Apostle had only to shake his hand to rid himself of it, and that his hand remained as uninjured as it was before. This occurrence caused them to regard him in Malta as a wonderful person.

Since that time the Island of Malta has enjoyed a privilege which is singular and remarkable. It is that vipers and other venomous reptiles, which carry their venom wherever they drag themselves, are not found there, and those even which they carry thither lose it when they enter the island. We can well believe that this favor of Heaven has been granted to the Island of Malta in memory of the kind reception which its

inhabitants formerly gave to the Apostle of the Gentiles, who is still here an object of public veneration and devotion.

We found, not only at the Grotto of Saint Paul, but also through all the island, the eyes and tongues of serpents. The travellers did not fail to take some of them away with them, the common opinion being that they are a preservative against all accidents of poison.¹ And what is equally surprising is, that, whatever quantity of these tongues and eyes are taken away, the number seems to be undiminished. We were told the same thing with regard to the earth in the Grotto of the Apostle, that, in proportion as it is removed, it seems to reproduce itself.

To return to the Island of Malta. It is estimated to be seven leagues in length, three and a half in breadth, and twenty-one in circumference. Almost the whole island is composed of rock, from which it happens that it is not fertile in vegetables, but those they have there are delicious. We need not expect to find forests or vineyards; but, for compensation, olives, oranges, and lemons are common there, and their fruits are of a delightful flavor. We saw there, in the month of January, the last of the almonds still in blossom. A country where the residence is so agreeable deserves to have a population like that of Malta.

The Maltese speak the Arabic, a little corrupted.

¹ These pretended tongues of serpents are only petrifications of the teeth of the fish *Lamia*, or *Charcharias*. They can be seen in any cabinet. They have no influence in counteracting poison. The eyes of serpents belong to the species of toad-stone, and are also petrifications of the teeth of a fish.

The men are almost all clothed in the French style, some of them wearing a small collar and a large black cloak. The priests and members of the religious Orders are found there in great numbers. Women and girls never go out alone. They are always accompanied by a slave, or have one following them. Their bearing and their dress are so modest that they might be taken for members of religious bodies. They wear a black mantle of silk or serge, which entirely covers them from head to foot.

In fine, to finish all that I can say of the Island of Malta, I will add that what forms its principal ornament and its glory is the possession of a great number of illustrious Knights, whose valor is equal to their birth. They have the honor to be the zealous defenders of our faith. They are prepared at all times to endure the dangers of the sea, and to expose their lives in its defence. One reads with admiration in their history the record of their glorious exploits and the wonderful triumphs of their arms. But what should be the theme of an eulogy worthy of them is that, through all times, at Malta and elsewhere, we see these Knights practising the most heroic virtues of Christianity. These illustrious Knights have been, even to the present time, an infinite honor to the faith.

Malta is to-day governed by a Grand Master who is worthy of the office. His talents, his prudence, and his kindness in his government, have gained him the veneration and love of all Christian nations, who are continually sending new Knights to his court.

VI.

THE GRECIAN ISLANDS.

1711.

[WE continue an account of the voyage of the Jesuit Fathers, after leaving Malta, not only to give his sketches of some of the Grecian islands as they then were, but also to show what travelling was in that day, when a voyage from Marseilles to Smyrna occupied fifty-seven days.]

Continuation of Letter to Father Fleurian.

DURING our stay at Malta, our ship was entirely repaired. Our captain having given us notice of the day of his departure, we took leave of our Fathers, returning them a thousand acknowledgments for their kindness to us. It was winter, but the air was as soft as the spring. The wind was favorable for us, the sun lighted up every thing, and the surface of the sea was entirely luminous with it. A shoal of dolphins, enjoying the balmy air, gambolled together at the bows of our vessel. We saw them raise themselves in the air, leaping entirely out of the water. During a large portion of our voyage we enjoyed this diverting spectacle. A change of weather deprived us of it. A high wind arose; but, happily being in the rear, it caused us to advance with such speed, that, if it had continued, we would have reached Smyrna in four days.

The following night we were driven from our course. Instead of approaching Smyrna, we were obliged to make for the Island of Sapienza. This island forms the point of the Morea at the southern side. It is distant but one league by sea from the city of Modon, the capital of the province of Betuederè, in the Morea.

This sea being much infested by pirates, our people did not dare to leave the ship for the purpose of seeing the city of Modon. We contented ourselves with merely landing to breathe the fresh air of the island. There is nothing curious to attract travellers, as there are neither cities nor villages nor houses. Some Arabs, watching their goats, were the only persons we encountered. They have dug among the rocks to procure shelter for themselves and their flocks, and there they live like savages.

While walking one day on the island with one of our fellow-travellers, we saw two of these men coming towards us with astonishing speed, passing through the thick bushes, and climbing the rocks with the agility of their own goats. Their figure was as barbarous as their dress. These two men were huge Albanians, armed with large clubs, crooked, and bound with iron. They approached us, and, in a fierce tone, demanded of us, in a jargon of Italian, "who we were, and where we were going." We answered them, but in the mildest tone, "that we were French, on our way to the archipelago, and that our ship was at anchor." They then left us abruptly, without saying any thing more; and we saw them repair to a height from which they could have a view of our vessel.

On our return, we related our adventure to our fellow-passengers. The next day one of them, who said "he had no fear of this kind of people," had the curiosity to land at the island to see them. No sooner had he put his foot on shore than our two Arabs, accompanied by two others of an equally unprepossessing appearance, fell upon him, seized him by the collar, and bound him to a tree, with his hands behind his back. "It is you, then," they said to him, "or one of the others with you, who have been stealing our goats. It will cost you your life." Then one of them put his knife to his throat, while the others searched his pockets. They took away every thing they found there, and stripped him of his clothes, leaving him nothing but his shirt. This matter being accomplished, three of them escaped with their booty; while the fourth unbound the sufferer, and then followed his companions.

Our fellow-traveller, who had prided himself on his bravery at all hazards, returned to the vessel with the only garment which the four Arabs had left him. He was fortunate enough to find there charitable people who would give him clothes, of which he had such need. After this last adventure, none of our voyagers had the temerity to land and walk in the island during the four days that we waited for the wind to enable us to put to sea.

We set sail again on the 30th of January, at six o'clock in the morning. Sailing round the Morea, from which we were distant but three or four leagues, we passed Coron, and doubled the Cape of Matapan.

On the 21st, we found ourselves at daybreak between Cerigo and Cape St. Angelo, and some time afterwards we came in sight of Malvoisie, which they say is the most important place in the Morea. This city was formerly called Epidaurus. It is situated on a high rock, at the foot of which commences the Gulf of Napoli and Romani. The eastern side, by which they descend the rock to the sea, produces that excellent Malvoisie wine, the reputation of which is so widespread.

Here we left the Morea to enter the archipelago, passing the kingdom of Candia on our right. Up to the present time we had enjoyed weather as warm as that of spring ; but, a high north wind having suddenly commenced, we experienced such extreme cold that we found it necessary to look for our coats, and to wrap ourselves in them. The shores of the Morea, which were covered with snow, sent us the cold wind we experienced ; but, in addition to the cold, we found the wind so strong that we were obliged the next day to land at the port of Paros, one league distant from Naxos. Unhappily for us, we could not remain there ; for our captain felt obliged to sail for Argentaria, a little island of the archipelago, situated between Milo and Siphanto.

This port is very good ; and scarcely had we cast anchor when two Greeks of the island came aboard. With a pleasant manner, they said that they had come to present to us the compliments of the French consul on our arrival, and to offer us refreshments. We received this politeness with the thanks it deserved,

and felt that it obliged us to go ourselves and make our acknowledgments to the consul at his house. We took with us the two Greeks to show the way.

The residence of the consul is within three quarters of a league of the port. We found him there, in company with the English consul. Both are natives of the country, and members of the most important families of the island. They received us with much kindness ; and, after the first compliments, the French consul caused a collation to be served up for us. He then proposed that we should go and see the city. The two consuls accompanied us. It did not take us much time to make the round ; for it is a collection of but one hundred and fifty houses, and the inhabitants only number eight or nine hundred persons. The streets are so narrow that it is difficult for two persons to walk side by side.

We found in this city (which is more a village than a city) a few French families, who carried on some little trade for a support. These French people were immediately informed of our arrival, and came to find us, with every expression of pleasure. They were delighted to hear news from their own country, and we were able to satisfy all their demands, as a narrative of the oldest occurrences was news to them.

We shortly after received the visit of the Greek Fathers, and the other principal Greeks of the city, who showed by every kind of expression the pleasure they had in seeing us. They asked us "if we came to found a mission among them. We have not forgotten," they said to us, "that which Father Jacques

Xavier Portier and his associate made to us, many years ago. Our children were ignorant, and they taught them. Many among us were at variance with each other, and they reconciled us. We did not live as Christians, and they persuaded us to make confession and come to the Holy Sacrament, from which we had been far removed for a long time. In short, they taught us our duties. Since that time we have wandered from the true way which they had pointed out to us. Come, then," they added, "cause us to return to it. Come to restore to us the happiness which the presence of Father Jacques Xavier Portier gave us, and which his absence has caused us to lose."

These words, which we saw proceeded from their hearts, sensibly affected us. We assured them that we had arrived from France disposed to render them any service ; but, not being acquainted with their language, we should be obliged to learn it to put ourselves into a condition to be understood by them and ourselves to understand them. They were contented with our answer. The unfavorable weather which had obliged us to stop at *Argentaria* detained us there twenty entire days, without our being able to leave. Not to be entirely useless, we gave our instructions to the French, and taught the Catechism to their children. The Greeks and French assisted at our Masses. The officers of our ship, the sailors, and our fellow-travellers met there, and always set a good example. Many of them received the Communion. These good works consoled us for the delay of our departure.

We took advantage of the first favorable weather to

leave the port of Argentaria. The same evening we came to anchor at Siphanto, anciently Siphnos, an island larger and richer than that of Argentaria. The next morning we left there with a favorable wind, which by evening took us to Myconos. The island, which at the present day has this name, is one of the Cyclades in the Ægean Sea. We learned on our arrival that there were a large number of Roman Catholics there. We were conducted to the residence of the Curé to ask his permission to say Mass. The Curé, though a Greek by birth, followed the Latin rite. He was supported by the Society of the Propaganda to minister to the Roman Catholics. His parishioners, being informed of our arrival, came to his house to salute us, where they all received us with much kindness and love.

They, too, spoke of the mission which Father Jacques Xavier Portier had founded among them some years before. "We have need of a second mission," they said. "If he knew it, he would soon come to our relief, for he had a great zeal for our salvation." We engaged to procure for them the new mission which they desired. On the following morning we performed Mass, at which a great number assisted, with a devotion which charmed us. Not being acquainted either with the common Greek language or the corrupt Italian, which is used here, we could not give them any instruction. We could only address to them some words through the interpreter.

After twenty-four hours' stay on this island, we took leave of the Curé, who with his parishioners wished to

accompany us even to the vessel, entreating us to return in a short time to their island. We embarked in their presence with so favorable a wind that we were carried forty leagues in less than twelve hours. On the 16th of February we arrived at the Islands of Spalmadori, and afterwards found ourselves within cannon-range of the Island of Chios. My two Jesuit associates had the same great desire with myself to see this island, to be ourselves witnesses of all that we had heard of the zeal of the Catholics who dwell there ; but our wishes could not at that time be gratified. We continued our voyage, leaving the archipelago, and entering the Sea of Natoli-in-Asia.

To the present time I had supposed, when leaving France, that we should find in the Levant a continual summer, and a warmth which might even, perhaps, be too great. But experience convinced us of the contrary ; for we now encountered the most piercing cold, which obliged us and all our officers to clothe ourselves in our warmest dresses.

We were now distant from Smyrna only a good day's sail, and were in hopes of reaching there ; but the wind became so light that we were not able to make any progress. We had also another misadventure which delayed us. At daybreak we saw five Turkish vessels on their way from Constantinople to Chios. A man-of-war of thirty guns, having detached itself from the other four ships, approached us, and ordered us to come on board. As they were much the strongest, it was necessary to obey without any reply. The captain of the man-of-war caused our

captain to come aboard his ship, and sent three Turks to visit us. Happily they did not find any merchandise that was contraband. As soon as they had made their report, the commander of the five ships contented himself with thoroughly questioning our captain on the state of things at Malta and Sicily, and sent him back to us. Our captain on his return saluted the Turkish vessels with a discharge of cannon. They returned the same salute, and continued on their course.

The calm, followed by head-winds, delayed our entrance into the Gulf of Smyrna. At last, the time came when we were able to double Cape Bouroun, which is the point of the Gulf of Smyrna. We were charmed with the view from this place. The gulf is about fifteen leagues in length and eight in breadth. The sides are covered with olive-trees. We saw in the distance a great number of ships, which were in the roadstead, while the view was terminated by the city of Smyrna.

We reached the city at noon on the 15th of February, our voyage by sea having been fifty-seven days, in the roughest part of the winter; but, thanks to God! we arrived in perfect health.

VII.

GLIMPSES OF THE COURT OF CHINA.

1773.

[THE Jesuit missionaries are the only foreigners who have ever penetrated to the interior of Chinese life. Trained in the language, they carried with them not only scientific men, but workmen skilled in every accomplishment which could attract the attention of the rulers of the country, and gain for them an influence at Court. The consequence was that, at one time in the seventeenth century, the members of the Society of Jesus were at the head of all the scientific schools, and even were employed in many departments of the arts. As early as the sixteenth century they had penetrated to the Imperial Court, and were often the advisers of the Emperor. Of this the following letter furnishes a good illustration. Written a century ago, it is the only narrative with which we are acquainted giving any views of the interior of Chinese royal life.

We learn from a letter of one of the other Jesuits, at Peking, that Father Benoit died there, October 23, 1774, less than a year after he had written the following letter. He was born at Autun, France, October 8, 1725.]

*LETTER of Father Benoit, Missionary at Peking.**November 4th, 1773.*

YOU are aware, Monsieur, that it is necessary for the new missionaries who come to Peking by order of the Emperor to be presented to his Majesty a short time after their arrival. But you are probably not

aware that, when they appear before him, custom requires that they should make him some presents. Two new missionaries having therefore arrived at our House on the 12th of January, in this year, 1773, — Father Mericourt, with the title of clockmaker, and Brother Pansi, in the capacity of painter, — our Father Superior charged me to make all the necessary arrangements for their presentation. The letter which to-day I have the honor to write you, will have for its object to show the success of this commission, which was exceedingly embarrassing, and which I discharged in the best manner I possibly could. You will find in my letter some detailed accounts, little known in Europe, of the interior of the palace, some customs of the Court, and the manner of life of this powerful Emperor.

Among the different presents which these newcomers had to offer was a magnificent telescope of a new invention, which M. Bertin had sent us during the last year. The Minister of State was pleased to arrange for us these gifts of our glorious and beloved monarch. There was also a picture painted by Brother Pansi, and an air-pump, which our Superior-General (Father le Fèvre) had sent us from Canton. These were the most remarkable of the presents destined for the Emperor.

The first point was to contrive that his Majesty should become acquainted with the value of the telescope and the use of the air-pump; for it often happened that curious articles presented to the Emperor were either refused by him, or, if he favorably received

them, they were placed in the store-house, where they remained without being used, and indeed entirely forgotten. As to the air-pump, I had toiled over it for several months to place it in proper condition. I had prepared, in Chinese, an explanation, as much with regard to the theory as its practical uses, from which I had selected about twenty of the most curious, and I had caused to be drawn, with Chinese ink, diagrams which explained them. This explanation, which formed a small volume, was to be presented to the Emperor before he received the machine.

We had now entered on the twelfth Chinese month, when the public offices are closed, and the courts of justice have vacation to the twenty-first of the first month of the following year. During this period of leisure, no business is entertained except that which it is necessary promptly to discharge. The Emperor is therefore less occupied than at other times of the year, but he is also more engaged in religious ceremonies, or in spectacles in the interior of the palace. It was necessary, then, to urge upon them the presentation of the two new missionaries. I addressed myself, therefore, to the officers of the palace who arrange affairs of this kind. They fixed upon the 12th of January, being the twenty-sixth of the twelfth month. The evening preceding I caused the presents to be carried thither; and, as the petition for presentation should reach the interior of the palace early in the day, in fear lest we should not be in time, I intrusted the petition, the catalogue of the presents, and the explanation of the air-pump, to those whose

duty it is to bring matters of this kind before the Emperor. I had added a separate letter, to be also presented to his Majesty, in which I had stated that, however competent Brother Pansi might be in different kinds of painting, his particular talent was for portraits. I notified them also with regard to the air-pump, that, to keep it in a serviceable state, it should be placed in a temperate atmosphere, and sheltered from the violent cold which at that time was prevailing.

The next day, January 18th, our Father Superior and myself, with some other members of our Church, accompanied the two new-comers. The petition for presentation and the other papers had been already sent in. Here it is necessary, summer and winter, to be very much on the alert. Towards nine o'clock they gave us notice that the Emperor had read the petition for presentation, and had caused the presents to be brought into the interior of the palace, so that, when his Majesty should be at leisure, he could see them and choose those which pleased him. After mid-day they brought back those of the presents which the Emperor had not received, and made known to us his orders, to wit, that the two newly arrived missionaries should immediately enter the palace, each one to give an exhibition there of his art; that Brother Pansi should take part with Fathers Damascene and Pisol in the execution of six pictures, for which his Majesty had given orders; that Father Mericourt should work at clock-making with Fathers Archange and de Vantavon; that the air-pump should

be taken to *Fou-y-koan* (which is the place where the European artists are at work) ; and that in the spring, when the weather was milder, Father Sighelbare and myself should exhibit its working before his Majesty, and explain it to him. These were the first orders of the Emperor, the greater part of which were immediately afterwards changed. The presents with which the Emperor gratified the new missionaries were, according to custom, six small pieces of silk for each one.

The Emperor had not as yet positively accepted the telescope. He wished first to know what it was and what was its use. I was called to explain it, and conducted to the suite of apartments where the Emperor then was. One of the eunuchs of the Presence having come out of the chamber in which his Majesty was, I directed the telescope towards the top of one of the roofs of the palace, the most distant of all that we could see. As the atmosphere was clear and without any apparent vapor, the eunuch saw the top of the roof so distinctly and apparently so near, that, exceedingly surprised, he went back immediately to inform the Emperor, who was then at supper, although it was only two hours after mid-day ; the custom of his Majesty being to sup at this hour and to dine at eight o'clock in the morning, spending at each meal not more than a quarter of an hour. I shall have occasion, in the future, to speak more at large as to what relates to the repasts of the Emperor.

All the eunuchs of the Presence and the other officers having satisfied their curiosity with regard to

the telescope, they placed a table at the side of his Majesty's apartment, so as to enable me to arrange it myself and direct it towards some object. This having been done, as the Emperor had now finished his supper, the eunuchs requested him to come and make trial of it. The Emperor perceived at once the superiority of this instrument to any which he had hitherto seen. He appointed two of the eunuchs to carry it always with him whenever he went out, and gave me a commission to instruct them in the manner of using and arranging it. And to testify more fully his satisfaction, besides the silks which he had already given to the new missionaries, he caused to be presented to them and to myself three large pieces of silk, one of which alone was worth five or six of the former.

I made the acknowledgments in the customary way, and afterwards was ordered to bring Brother Pansi to the palace, the next day, to receive the commands of the Emperor as to what he should do. In accordance with this, on the 19th of January I conducted the painter to *Ki-siang-kong*. (This is the place in the interior of the palace, where the Chinese painters work during the three months of the year that the Emperor remains at Peking.) There they notified us that the Emperor wished Brother Pansi to take a portrait. While I was waiting until every thing should be prepared for the commencement of this work, the eunuchs, who were charged with the care of the telescope, brought it to me, that I might continue my instructions as to its management. They told me that the Emperor had ascended a tower, upon which was

a platform, and from this they had directed the telescope to some distant objects ; but, the weather being foggy, they found it difficult to see any thing. I told them they should not be surprised at this, because the glass, in increasing the size of the objects, increased also the vapors.

The next day, January 20th, having repaired early in the morning to the palace, we remained there in a room by the side of the apartment in which the Emperor then was. A little while afterwards, there came to us a page of twenty-seven or twenty-eight years of age, whose portrait his Majesty wished taken. Scarcely had Brother Pansi marked out the first rough sketch, when the Emperor, having caused it to be brought to him, took occasion to say, in sending it back, that he already recognized the features of the young man. The first draught having been made, so that Brother Pansi could put in the colors, his Majesty again sent for it ; and, in returning it, expressed anew his satisfaction. He caused also to be signified to us his wishes, particularly with regard to the shading, which in China they wish to be laid on more lightly than in Europe, not even allowing as much as is necessary to bring out the object into proper relief. Nevertheless, the work advanced, and from time to time came an order from the Emperor to have it brought to him ; for here, on the slightest indication of a wish on the part of the prince, they observe rigorously the rule which is prescribed in Europe to the greater part of the members of the religious Orders, to quit all work at the least signal, to which they should

yield their obedience. Brother Pansi, not being accustomed to have his work so interrupted, was very uneasy. He was afraid that the Emperor, in seeing from time to time those features which were not yet finished, could not but regard the painting as a daub. I reassured him, by telling him that this could not seem so to the Emperor, who was accustomed to watch the progress of pictures he had ordered, and that the same course was pursued with regard to Brothers Castiglione, Attiret, and others, many of whose works could not be disowned by the best painters in Europe.

We returned to the palace, according to our orders, January 26th, where we found the Chinese painters and the Mandarins of painting, in company with whom they conducted us to *Ki-siang-kong*. It is necessary to mention, in noticing every thing which relates to the interior of the palace, that no one, whoever he may be, whether Prince of the blood, Minister of State, &c., is allowed to enter there, unless he is accompanied by the eunuchs; and when there are a number, as we then were, — Mandarins, painters, servants, and Europeans, — they count them all without distinction, one by one, both at entering and coming out.

We repaired afterwards to the same place where Brother Pansi had begun to paint the young page. He was going on with the portrait, when the Emperor, who had become more and more satisfied with his skill, sent to us to say that he could discontinue the portrait he had commenced, and come and paint one of himself. We entered immediately into the

apartment of his Majesty, — Brother Pansi and myself, — where we at first were going through the necessary ceremony, which he did not allow us to finish, but, causing us immediately to rise, he inquired with regard to the age and country of Brother Pansi, the church where he lived, &c. He then explained the manner in which he wished to be painted. The taste of the Chinese, indeed, inclines them to have their portraits in full face, not somewhat in profile, as is customary in Europe. It is necessary that both sides of the face should be equally seen in the portrait, and there should be no other difference between them but that which is created by the shadows, in accordance with the side from which the light comes, so that the portrait should be always looking at the spectator. For this reason, however, it is much more difficult to succeed in this kind of painting.

But the Emperor, having concluded that by the multitude of his engagements it would be difficult for him to retain us in his presence all the time which would be necessary for the execution of his design, decided that Brother Pansi should paint the portrait in private from one of his former portraits, and that afterwards he should make in his presence the alterations which the time that had elapsed had imprinted on his features. I mentioned this to Brother Pansi, and in concert with him I said to the first eunuch of the Presence that the Emperor, in granting to Brother Pansi the honor to paint his portrait, expected him to paint him as he now really is; that, whatever resemblance there might be in the older portraits, they

represented the features of his Majesty as they were at that time, but that age and circumstances always produce some change in the expression, and if, by consulting a portrait then made, one should execute to-day a portrait of the Emperor, it would resemble what his Majesty was at that time, but not what he now really is. I added that, whatever corrections might subsequently be made in the presence of the Emperor and by consulting his features, the portrait, in spite of these corrections, could never exhibit that certain perfection which is the result of the first sketch, when one has taken care to foresee the different expressions, on observing which the perfection depends. I prayed the eunuch to make these representations to his Majesty, as they had excited in Brother Pansi the fear that he should not succeed as he wished.

The eunuch executed his commission perfectly ; and the Emperor, having sent for us, said that the considerations which had been presented to him were just. "I am," he remarked, "entirely different from what I was when you first arrived here. How long ago was that?"

"Sire," I replied, "it is twenty-eight years that I have been in Peking, and twenty-six years since I had the honor for the first time to speak to his Majesty, when he charged me with the arrangement of the waters with which he wished to embellish his palace, both here and at *Yuen-ming-guen*" (the House of Pleasure).

"Well," replied the Emperor, "you should then be

able to remember how thin and slender I was at that time ; and is it not true that, if since then you had never seen me, you would not now be able to recognize me, seeing how much stouter I now am ?”

“It is,” said I, “the constant exercise which his Majesty takes, and the diet which he observes, which contribute to this stoutness. Ordinarily, in proportion as age advances, we perceive the strength and the health to decrease. On the contrary, the strength and health of his Majesty seems to increase with his age. It is the goodness of God, which wishes to preserve him for his people.”

“Although I feel myself to be strong and robust,” replied the Emperor, “yet I perceive that my features have changed, year after year, and that I am entirely different from what I was when my old portraits were taken. Therefore, Pan-ting-chang” (the Chinese name of Brother Pansi) “has reason for what he says. Let him paint me now, and put himself in the situation which he thinks will be most proper to enable him to succeed.”

The Emperor then asked about what time it would require to paint him, and whether during that time he would be able to employ himself in reading, writing, &c. After having questioned Brother Pansi, I replied to him “that the first sketch would occupy two or three hours ; that after some days, when the colors should have dried, the painter would put on the second coat of coloring, which would take more or less time as the first sitting had been more or less successful. As to the rest, as soon as his Majesty wished,

he could leave the work, and take it up again whenever it pleased him, without it suffering any injury." And I added, "that, while he was engaged in the painting, his Majesty could read or write, and do whatever he thought proper, provided that his face was always in such a direction that the painter could see his different features, and that, when the work required a certain position, he should take the liberty of giving his Majesty notice of it."

"Do not fail, then," said the Emperor, "to let me know when a change of position will be necessary."

The apartment in which the Emperor then was is in the taste of all the other apartments, or, rather, according to the taste of all persons in Peking who are somewhat easy in their fortunes. On account of the earthquakes which are so frequent here, the beams and roofs of Chinese buildings are not supported on the walls, but on wooden columns, placed on bases of stone, so that often the roof of a building is finished before the walls are built. In this way it happens that, in an earthquake, the walls are sometimes overturned, without the roof, or even the interior of the building, being injured. The walls are commonly of brick, very appropriately worked on the outside, sometimes even ornamented with different designs in sculpture, and on the inner side covered either with stucco, or with boards in the apartments which they wish to line with paper. In other apartments the walls are covered with joiner's work.

The apartment of the Emperor is constructed in this taste, and is about ninety feet in length by

twenty-five or twenty-six in breadth, and is divided into three parts. The middle division is the Hall of the Throne. Outside the whole length of this building there is a covered gallery, about five feet in width, formed by two ranges of columns. The ceilings, both of the hall and over the gallery, are ornamented with different works in sculpture, which are partly gilded, partly painted and varnished. The columns are always glazed in crimson. Stone steps extend along the length of these galleries, elevating them four feet above the pavement of the court, and on a level with the floor of the hall, in the middle of which is placed the throne of his Majesty, elevated several steps. The throne is set off with different ornaments, rich and in good taste, the greater part of which were made in Europe. What impressed me most among these ornaments were two clocks of middling elegance, the supports of which, either of gold or of silver gilt, were made to represent branches, with their leaves entwined. Under the base of the one is an elephant, which made different movements with his trunk. On the branches of the other support is a dragon. The whole is formed in a way so natural that one would imagine the animals to be alive. From the ceiling, in accordance with the custom of the Chinese, are suspended lanterns of different kinds, and other ornaments, with their tassels of silk of different colors. This Hall is used only for ordinary audiences. There is in the interior of the palace, for receptions of ceremony, one particular hall, the grandeur and magnificence of which are in accordance with the majesty of the sovereign to whom homage is there rendered.

The Emperor is lodged in the eastern chamber of the palace. The private apartments on the western side are devoted to his consort, the ladies who wait on her, and the small children. But the Emperor, as well as the Empress, the princesses, the Maids of Honor, and all other females who wait on them, have their apartments separate; and, in accordance with the custom of the country, never during the day is the Emperor seen with any one of the other sex.

In the chamber where the Emperor is lodged, on the northern side, is an alcove, shut in by different wooden arches. These arches sustain a ceiling raised about eight or nine feet above the floor of the chamber. Above this alcove are placed different precious vases and pots of natural or artificial flowers, which one is able to see from the floor of the chamber below. Within the alcove are disposed in ranges different shelves of varnished japanned work, ornamented with precious vases of all kinds of jewelry. There are there, also, under the alcove, and in different parts of the chamber, vases of different kinds of natural flowers; for here during the whole winter, and even during the most severe cold weather, they possess the secret of causing these plants and trees of all kinds to flourish, and with less fresh air than in France. I have known peach-trees and pomegranate-trees to bear the double blossoms in January, and immediately afterwards the peaches and pomegranates, which became very large. I should have had difficulty in persuading myself that they came of these double blossoms, if many times I had not seen with my own

eyes the progress of these different trees, and thus had present proof.

At the end of the chamber in which was the Emperor there was a dais, about two feet in height and six feet in breadth, which extended the width of the apartment. The dais and the rest of the floor were covered with a carpet of silk, the groundwork of which was yellow, ornamented with different figures of crimson color. Often these carpets are of scarlet or other fine cloths, of velvet or different European stuffs. To guard against dampness, they are accustomed to place between the carpet and the pavement a kind of felt, which they put on every thing on which they sit. The pavement of this chamber, and of all the apartments of the Emperor, is formed of bricks, which they call here *kin-tchou-en*, that is, metallic bricks, because, when they work on them, they ring like brass, or any other sounding metal. They are two feet square, and are made in the southern provinces. The kind of sand which they employ in making them is prepared as emery is procured to polish instruments of metal. Having mixed the sand with water in a vessel, they suffer it to be undisturbed for some time, so that the larger particles are deposited at the bottom of the vessel. They then turn off the water into other vessels, where it is again permitted to remain for a long time, until the finer particles with which it is impregnated are deposited. It is of this deposit that the bricks are made, the grain of which is so fine that the fragments are in great demand to use in sharpening razors and polishing differ-

ent instruments of metal. Each of these bricks will bring forty ounces of silver, which is equal to one hundred crowns of our money in France. In constructing the pavement, they unite the bricks together with a mastic composed of varnish ; and, when they are placed in their position, they cover them with a varnish, which renders the surface brilliant, and so hard that in walking over it there is no more impression made than if it were a pavement of marble.

The Emperor was seated in the middle of the dais, his back towards the East, sitting Tartar-fashion, his legs crossed on a cushion of yellow damask. Another cushion of the same material was against the wall to serve for a back. At his sides he had small tables, eight or ten inches in height, on which were pencils, red and black ink, inkstands, different written papers, and some volumes of books. His robe was lined with a costly fur, the price of which exceeded nine or ten times that of the most beautiful sables. As it was during the ceremonies of the New Year, the robe which covered this fur was of yellow damask, worked with dragons of five talons. (These dragons with five talons are to the Emperors of China what the *fleurs-de-lis* are to our kings. If any, except the Emperor, should at any time use the dragons in embroidery, in painting, or in sculpture, they must represent them with but four talons.) The dress above it was of violet color. It descended around the body, even to the dais, and entirely covered the robe. The cap which he wore was of black fur, with one pearl on the top. This pearl, which I have seen near by and

handled, is fourteen lines¹ in length. The base is a little oval, and at the top it forms two blunted points.

In speaking of the position of the Emperor, there is one observation, made both by Brother Pansi and myself, which excited in us some surprise. It is this, that during the different sittings, however long they might be, while we were employed on the painting, he was at the same distance from the cushion which served as a back to his seat, and we have never seen him support himself, or lean back upon it. Often when he had become animated in speaking, or particularly when he drew to his side the things of which he had need, he made different movements of his head, his arms, and his bust, but we never saw him make the least movement with his legs, or in the slightest degree change their position. This trait may appear to be, and indeed is, in itself a trifle: it shows, nevertheless, how much the Emperor gives to his Tartars an example of shunning every thing which ministers to the love of ease. This example authorizes him to punish, or even to disgrace, any one, no matter who he may be, whom he knows to be living an effeminate life, and seeking his ease with too much care, even though he might have in other respects the necessary capacity. In the apartments of his Majesty are neither chairs nor stools; because, if he showed any one the grace to cause him to be seated, he could only sit on the floor, which is always covered with a carpet. If sometimes he wishes to distinguish in a marked manner a prince of the blood, a general of

¹ A line was one-twelfth of an inch. — *Trans.*

the army, or any other person in whom he recognizes eminent merit, then he causes him to sit on the same dais with himself.

As it was then excessively cold, on a pedestal in the middle of the chamber was placed a large bronze vase, filled with live coals, well kindled, but covered with ashes to keep up a temperate atmosphere. Besides this kind of brazier, we know that in China they use a species of stove, formed by pipes which run below the floor of the chamber, and carry thither the heat of a furnace, with which they are connected. This furnace is buried in the earth outside of the chamber, generally on the side opposite the windows. The hot air of this furnace, when it is lighted, circulating through the pipes, warms the entire floor, and consequently the chamber itself, with a uniform heat, without producing either smoke or any disagreeable odor. But the Emperor, who did not regard cold, rarely caused it to be lighted.

And now let me tell you briefly in what consist the ornaments of the Emperor's chamber. A number of tables of japanned work, artistically executed, and covered with all sorts of trinkets, were arranged on the different sides of the room. The lanterns and other ornaments suspended from the ceiling are the same as in the Hall of the Throne. Some small portraits of former wise men of the country, executed in ink, are hung on the wainscoting of the alcove. In place of tapestry, a beautiful white paper, pasted on the walls and the ceiling, renders the chamber exceedingly light, without fatiguing the sight. The Emperor has,

however, tapestries in many of his palaces, to which he goes from time to time to walk or repose himself. These same palaces are also ornamented with glass, pictures, clocks, candlesticks, and all sorts of other ornaments, which are the most costly of those we have in Europe. The Mandarins of the provinces present him with every variety of thing of this kind. That which Tsong-tore, of Canton, alone offered him, during the last year, in the twelfth month, amounted to more than thirty *ouan*, that is, three hundred and twenty-five thousand livres. But the Emperor makes little use of these ornaments in the places where he commonly lives.

The magnificence of the roof of the main building announces the resident beneath it. The tiles, which are varnished in yellow, shine with such brightness that, when the sun lights them up, you would suppose they were gilded. The crown and parapets of the roof are ornamented with different works in sculpture, of the same material as the tiles, and varnished like them. However, they sometimes varnish these tiles with different colors, — green, blue, violet, flesh-color, &c., — and the greater part of these tints are beautiful and very vivid. They do not use them for any buildings but the residence of the Emperor or the temples ; but for the apartments where the Emperor usually lodges they ordinarily employ only yellow.

After this digression, — which, while giving an idea of the apartments of an Emperor of China, will give also an idea of the situation in which was his Majesty

when Brother Pansi took his portrait, — I return to what relates to the portrait itself.

The Emperor, before Brother Pansi put his hand to the work, caused him to approach very near him, so that the painter could study him at his ease; and, having made him remark some features of which he desired the Brother to take particular notice, he charged me to draw his attention to them. Brother Pansi, after having considered at his ease the features of his Majesty, himself placed the easel at seven or eight feet distant from him. I stationed myself by his side, and he began pencilling out the first sketch.

While he was marking it out, the Emperor put to me many questions on the names and difference of our Churches; why we called them the Church of the East, the Church of the West, &c.; what we did in Europe before we came to China; whether all the Europeans who were at Pekin were members of religious fraternities; why scarcely any came there but the members; at what age they took their vows; whether it was since we became members that we cultivated the sciences and arts which we exercised there? I endeavored to satisfy him on all these points. I told him that the names which our Churches bore, of South, East, and West, were titles they received with reference to the palace itself, having been given them in consequence of their situation with respect to it; that our Church, for example, being at the west of the palace, they named it the Church of the West, although in the city they often called it the North Church, because it is situated in the northern part of

Pekin. I added, afterwards, that in Europe, before we came here, we were members of the religious fraternity; that usually at sixteen or eighteen years of age they took these vows, and sometimes even at a much more advanced age; that the object of this state, which they call *si-on-tuo* (it is thus that they designate those under religious vows), properly is to labor to improve ourselves and to improve others. To effect this, while in Europe, we taught the young, grammar, eloquence, philosophy, and mathematics. "But," I continued, "all these sciences, sire, as has been often said to your Majesty, are nothing but our secondary object. Our first and principal object is to teach religion, to correct the vices, and to reform the morals. As to painting, clock-making, and the other arts of this kind, when any persons were acquainted with them before they took the vows, they sometimes continued to exercise them as a mere amusement, but they do not acquire these things except when they think of coming to Pekin. As we know that your Majesty has a taste for these different arts, those who design coming here cultivate them, and even begin learning them, if they have a peculiar talent for them."

"Pan-ting-chang," said the Emperor, "has he acquired the art of painting since he took the vows?"

"It is only a short time," I replied, "that Pan-ting-chang has been a member of the Order. He was a secular painter, and had already acquired a reputation in his profession. As he did not wish to marry, and was living in the world almost as one under vows,

those who in Europe were interested for us, and whom we had informed that we wished one or two good painters, proposed to him to become a member of the Order, that he might be able to labor with us in the service of your Majesty ; and he consented."

"Is it the case," said the Emperor, "that if he had not become a member, he could not have come here?"

"He could have done so, sire ; but, not being a Brother of our Order, we should have been able to interest ourselves for him only to a certain extent ; perhaps by aiding him in his voyage hither ; perhaps in presenting him to your Majesty ; or, it may be, in having care of him while here."

"But," said his Majesty, "if you know him to be an honest man, why should there be any difficulty in your interesting yourself for him?"

"Sire," I said, "in the reign of Canghi, we wished to have a painter here ; and not having one of our Order, we invited a layman skilled in his art, who really had the good fortune to please your august grandfather during the many years that he worked in his service. Finally, notwithstanding all the favors which his Majesty heaped upon him, and notwithstanding all the efforts we made to retain him, he positively determined to return to the bosom of his family. As we had known him to be an honest man and incapable of acting in any way which would disgrace the Europeans, and as besides we ourselves had brought him here, we lodged him in our Church. But if, unhappily, he had behaved badly, as he was

not a member of our Order, and he had neither here nor in Europe any superior to whom he looked for the regulation of his morals and conduct, we would have had no power to reclaim him to the requirements of reason or to keep him in the bounds of duty. This, then, is the reason why we do not again propose to your Majesty any but those who are members of our Order.

“It was again for this cause that the *Tsong-ton* of Canton, having sent here a layman to work at glass-making, your august grandfather, on account of these inconveniences, of which he was himself aware, did not propose to us to lodge him in our church, but allotted him his own private residence and an income sufficient to support it. But the glass-manufacturer, after having worked for some years in the service of his Majesty, acted like the painter, and returned to Europe.”

The Emperor had frequently spoken to encourage Brother Pansi, for fear he should be too timid in his presence, “in which case,” said he, “the fear of not succeeding will of itself prevent his success. Let him paint me,” he added, “with the same confidence with which he paints an ordinary person; let him adopt the position which is most convenient; and let him notify me, without any reserve, of any thing which would prejudice or contribute to the perfection of his work.”

This attention which his Majesty condescended to exhibit with regard to every thing which could impede or obstruct Brother Pansi induced him again to fear

that, if he continued to talk; the Brother might have his attention distracted by it. "In chattering as we are now doing," he said to me, familiarly, "I fear lest the painter may be troubled by it. Will he not get on better if I keep myself quiet?" I answered his Majesty, "that, as long as he was speaking, his face had an air of kindness and serenity which was exceedingly becoming in a portrait, but which would not be so plainly marked if he were applying himself to any work. The application, besides, rendered the expression of the face less open, the features less marked, and consequently more difficult to paint."

"Since this is so," said the Emperor, placing upon the table the manuscript which he held in his hand, "let us then talk;" and, actually, for nearly seven hours that Brother Pansi, in different sittings, was employed in painting his Majesty, during the whole time he put to me a continual series of questions on all sorts of matters, telling me frequently to be seated, as, in view of my feeble health and advanced age, he feared lest I should be incommoded by remaining so long standing; and he lowered himself to speak to me with all the kindness and familiarity which a father would use towards one of his children.

Towards noon the Emperor sent us to dine, and directed us to return at half-past twelve. We went to *Ki-siang-kong* (the Place of Painting), where our dinner awaited us. Before half-past twelve, having returned to the side-chamber where Brother Pansi had painted in the morning, his Majesty sent to Brother Pansi and myself each a large piece of silk

similar to those which we had received on the occasion of the presentation of the telescope, and to each one also three pairs of purses, causing us to be told, at the same time, to return immediately to him, that Brother Pansi might continue his painting. As soon as we were in his presence, we commenced going through the ceremony of returning thanks, but, causing us immediately to rise, he said to us, with kindness, that he was entirely satisfied. The Brother placed himself again at his easel and I at his side. The Emperor resumed his conversation, interrupting it, from time to time, by causing the picture to be brought to him, that he might see in what state it was.

The left eyebrow of the Emperor is a little broken off by an interval of about the twelfth of an inch in breadth, the hair which should fill it growing on the border of the eyebrow, below the vacant space. As, however, the hair of the eyebrow conceals this deformity, it can scarcely be noticed; but the Emperor, causing us to come near him, pointed out to us this separation, and told me to recommend to Brother Pansi to copy it exactly. I said to him, "If your Majesty had not drawn our attention to it, we should not have perceived it."

"Well," said the Emperor, smiling, "notify him to paint this defect in such a way that one will not perceive it unless he has been warned, but when his attention has been drawn to it, he will see it. It is my portrait he is to paint; it is not right that he should flatter me. If I have defects, he ought to

represent them, otherwise it will not be my likeness. It is the same with the wrinkles on my face. It is necessary to give the painter notice of them, to make it more life-like."

I said that "really they were so little apparent that the painter would have difficulty in perceiving them."

"They do appear but little," said the Emperor. "They are not as evident as yours, though I am much older than you."

Immediately he made us come near him, and, having had a small mirror brought, he held it with one hand, and with the other he pointed out each of the wrinkles. "What are those, if they are not wrinkles? He must represent all of them, and not make me appear younger than I am. After having passed sixty years, would it not be extraordinary if I should be without wrinkles?" He caused them several times afterwards to bring him the portrait, and he was so well satisfied that he supposed it to be finished. When he was told that it was only the first sketch, and that, after some days, when the colors had dried, it would be necessary to have a second sitting, "If," said he, "I have now found the portrait so well executed, what will it be when you have again worked on it?"

Several days passed, during which Brother Pansi retouched his work at our residence. When we returned to the palace, we were conducted to the side of the apartment of the Emperor. His Majesty was not in his ordinary room, but in another palace, where he took part in the customary spectacles at the time

of the New Year. They carried to him the portrait, and told him it was considered finished for the present. He answered us "that his first intention had been to have only a half-length portrait, but that it was necessary to enlarge it, by adding to it at the top, the bottom, and the two sides, with prepared paper, and he would himself settle the dimensions of the picture." It is well for me to state that here pictures are not painted on canvas, but on the paper of Corée, which is very strong and smoother than canvas. They prepare this paper in the same way that our painters prepare the canvas on which they wish to paint. In increasing the size of this paper intended for a picture, they are able to do so as much as they wish, without it appearing that any thing had been added to it.

The 30th of January, the last day of the first month, was the day fixed for Brother Pansi to go on with the portrait of the Emperor; and he added to it the bonnet and drapery. It was necessary first that Brother Pansi should begin the portrait of another young man, and that the picture should be of the size of the former. They immediately conducted us to the neighborhood of the apartment of the Emperor, who was not then in his ordinary room, but in *Thay-kong*. A young man of twenty-four or twenty-five years of age then presented himself, and the artist immediately sketched the portrait. The page himself carried it to the Emperor, who was entirely satisfied; and he, as well as the eunuchs, said that nothing was wanting to the portrait but the power

of speech. It was, however, nothing but the first sketch.

It was at the *Thay-kong*, where the Emperor passes three days in solitude,¹ that he caused us to be brought to him, that Brother Pansi might continue the portrait of his Majesty. At eight o'clock in the morning we returned to *Ki-siang-kong* (the Place of Painting), during a severe snow-storm, which did not cease until evening. They told us that the Emperor was occupied with some unexpected business, and in consequence could not admit us before noon. But at eleven o'clock they came to seek us, from his Majesty. It was necessary for us to go at once, notwithstanding the snow, which fell in large flakes. We traversed the courts, the terraces, and the galleries, conducted by the eunuchs, who, whenever we passed any opening, from which we could look into the apartment where it was possible any princess or other person of the sex might be, made a signal, as much to give notice to the eunuchs who were on duty as sentinels to shut the open doors or windows through which one might be able to look, as to learn whether any princess might not be on her way to visit another princess, or for some other reason. For, although in the interior of the palace itself, neither the princesses nor any other females can go from one apartment to the other, however near they may be, but in closed carriages, carried by the eunuchs, and differing according to the

¹ This is an annual fast with the Chinese, a period of retreat from the world, and abstinence, when the Emperor thus prepares himself to offer sacrifices in the temples. — *Trans.*

different degrees of dignity of the ladies whom they bear. Nevertheless, no person whatever except the eunuchs, even though he might be a son or a brother of the Emperor, is allowed to meet them on their way. The eunuchs having given the signal, he turns back immediately, or, if circumstances prevent his turning back, it is necessary to turn to him the hinder part of the carriage when he passes.

Brother Pansi was much surprised at all these ceremonies, so foreign to the customs of Europe. But what embarrassed him most was the melting snow, which rendered the pavement so slippery that, being little accustomed to all the attire of Chinese dresses, which the season obliged him to wear, he was near falling every moment.

After a walk of a quarter of an hour, entirely within the interior of the palace, we arrived at a court which is immediately in front of the *Thay-kong*. This court is shut in by three grand main buildings that enclose it on three sides. The fourth side fronts the north, and separates it from the *Thay-kong*. It is surrounded by an open gallery or terrace, of eight or nine feet in height, ornamented in its entire length, at regular distances, with bronze vases and statues and different designs in stone. Above this terrace is situated the *Thay-kong*, or Palace of Retirement, the taste of which is precisely the same as that of the apartment of the Emperor, which I have already described. The divisions of the chambers there are also almost the same; nevertheless, the structure of the roofs, the ornaments of the ceilings, and all the other accompaniments, are

of a taste so varied, so noble, and so magnificent, that each time we have seen them it has always been with new admiration.

Since it was still the festival of the New Year, the ceremonial did not permit that during these three days of retirement the Emperor should wear his robes of state. It was necessary for him to wear the dress of partial mourning; that is to say, the ordinary habit of only one color, such as he used every day which was not one of ceremony, and a robe above it of black.

As soon as we had entered his Majesty's apartment, Brother Pansi went on with his picture. Towards two o'clock, when they were ready to serve his supper, he sent us to rest, and ordered the eunuchs to provide a collation for us in an adjoining chamber. During his supper he sent us tea and milk from his own table. At a quarter past two we were recalled.

I have already stated that the taste of the Chinese, and particularly that of the Emperor, led them to desire in their pictures only so much shade as was absolutely necessary. His Majesty wished also that the hairs of his beard and of his eyebrows should be separately so distinctly marked that when near the portrait one could distinguish them. I recalled to mind, on this occasion, that one day the Brother Attiret, whose eminent talent for painting is well known, during the first years of his residence here had painted a flower, upon which Brother Castiglioni, who had been here for some years, having by chance cast his eye, he said to Brother Attiret, "There are

one or two leaves too many in the contour of that flower." "But," said Attiret, "as to the number of leaves which form the whole flower, who would think it necessary to count them?" "A good painter in Europe," replied Castiglioni, "would pronounce your flower to be perfect ; but here there is not an apprentice-painter who, at the first glance, will not tell you at once that your flower has not in its contour the number of leaves which it should have." And Brother Attiret immediately convinced himself, by showing the flower to Chinese painters. I had seen the same thing done with reference to the number of scales which ought to be in each row on the body of a fish. Although the Emperor did not enter into this kind of *minutiæ*, he nevertheless wished, following the taste of his country, that his beard and eyebrows should be painted in such a way that at least a large number of hairs could be distinguished, the one from the other, by a stroke of the brush made for each. But, as this labor consumed considerable time, I said to him that Brother Pansi could do this at his leisure in private, and that it would not be necessary for him to be in the presence of his Majesty.

Some days afterwards all the court removed to the House of Pleasure (*Yuen-ming-guen*). I accompanied Brother Pansi thither to act as interpreter. I had received orders to go thither as soon as the cold should be a little moderated, to instruct the four eunuchs in the manner of using the air-pump, and to explain to the Emperor the different experiments.

The scene was therefore transferred to the House of Pleasure.

During the whole course of the year, the Emperor resides only about three months at Peking. He ordinarily returns there some time before the winter solstice, which always occurs in the eleventh month of the Chinese year; and before the 15th of the first month of the following year the Emperor, with all his suite, goes to reside at the House of Pleasure, which is situated two leagues north-west from Peking. During these three months of the year that he passes at Peking, he is occupied with a multitude of ceremonies, which require his presence. All the rest of the year, except the time when he is engaged in the chase in Tartary, is passed at *Yuen-ming-guen*, whence he repairs to Peking as often as any ceremony obliges him. The ceremony finished, he returns at once. This is the House of Pleasure, to which they have now added the embellishments which are found in the ancient palace, and in a great number of other palaces, each one more magnificent than the other, which his Majesty has caused to be built, and the precincts of which he has enlarged, so that to-day the circumference is not less than two leagues.

We can say of this House of Pleasure that it is a town, or rather a collection of towns, within which it is situated, and which contains more than a million of souls. It has different names. The part of this town in which our French fraternity has a small residence, wherein to lodge those of us who are occupied in working in the palace of his Majesty, they name *Hai-tien*.

The House of Pleasure of the Emperor they call "the garden of perfect brightness." The House of Pleasure of the Emperor's mother, very near that of his Majesty, is "the garden where reigns a pleasant spring." One other House of Pleasure, a short distance from it, is called "the mountain of the extensive view." Another, at some distance from it, is named "the garden of brilliant tranquillity." In the midst of the palace of the Emperor is a mountain called "the mountain of the precious fountain." This fountain, indeed, furnished water for all the palaces which I have mentioned; and the water afterwards formed a canal that extended as far as Pekin. But, since the reigning Emperor has covered this mountain with magnificent edifices, this spring, although still abundant, does not furnish half the water which it formerly did.¹

In this House of Pleasure, at the entrance of the gardens, is situated the *Fou-y-koan*, which is the place where the Chinese and European painters, the European clock-makers, those who are employed in making different kinds of machinery, and the workmen in precious stones and ivory, are engaged in their business. Beyond this inner laboratory, where the Emperor comes from time to time to see the works which are going on, there are around the palace a great number of workshops of all kinds; for many artisans are continually occupied in every variety of labor to ornament the palace of his Majesty.

¹ In another letter one of the other missionaries refers to this House of Pleasure, and calls it "the Versailles of China." — *Trans.*

The 8th of February, being the 17th of the first month, was the day on which the different workmen who were there employed returned to the *Fou-y-koan*. Brother Pansi went thither ; and, by order of the Emperor, he was conducted to one of the palaces, that he might retouch there the portrait of the second young man which he had painted. Father Vantavon acted as his interpreter while awaiting my arrival, which was not long delayed, by an express order of his Majesty. I did not, however, remain there long, as it was necessary to return to Pekin.

Towards the beginning of the second month, the Emperor was obliged to go and offer a great sacrifice in the Temple of Heaven. As soon as the ceremony was finished, he returned to the House of Pleasure ; and I also went in his suite.

The four eunuchs, whom the Emperor had appointed to learn the use of the air-pump, had now become somewhat acquainted with the manner of its working. The three missionaries, whose department was clock-making, — Father Archange (Barefoot Carmelite, Missionary of the Sacred Congregation), and Fathers Vantavon and Mericourt, the Jesuits, — had exhibited all the different pieces of the machine. The eunuchs who attended me, with some others whom they had brought to aid them, told me that the Emperor, being very anxious to see the different experiments, would come on the 10th of March to *Fou-y-koan* (the Place of Workshops). I repaired there early in the morning, and made the eunuchs go through the different experiments on the compression, the

expansion, and other properties of air. His Majesty came there after mid-day, and asked me the explanation of each. He wished to know the interior working of the instrument. I endeavored to explain it to him by means of the drawings, which I had caused to be executed to represent those parts which one could not see when the machine was not taken to pieces. He directed me to prepare the experiments for the next day, and to observe the same order I had used in the description I had given him. As soon as the Emperor had returned to his apartment, he sent an order to the eunuchs to bring the air-pump, and to repeat all the experiments which had been made before him at the workshops.

The next day, March 11th, when I arrived at the workshops, the eunuchs informed me of every thing which had taken place the day before in the Emperor's apartment, and told me of many questions which his Majesty had asked on the subject, to which they had not been able to give any answers. As his Majesty had given orders to prepare some new experiments, I thought it proper, for good reasons, to make them take the machine to pieces ; after which, having again put it together and tried it, I saw that it was in good condition. When, therefore, his Majesty came, after mid-day, I explained to him the different valves, pistons, cocks, &c.

The Emperor then caused them again to carry the instrument to his apartment, and afterwards to one of the European palaces, to keep it there with a quantity of European curiosities which they had collected.

The next day, his Majesty, to show his satisfaction with the air-pump, which was the first he had seen, again gave three large pieces of silk ; for Father Mericourt and Brother Pansi, in whose names it had been presented, one to each of them, and the third for myself.

I perceive, Monsieur, that I have said nothing again about the meals of the Emperor, as I promised to do. His Majesty always eats alone, and no one assists at his repast but the eunuchs who wait on him. The hour of his dinner is regularly fixed at eight o'clock in the morning, and that of his supper at two o'clock in the afternoon. Besides these two meals, he takes nothing during the day, except some drink to which he is accustomed, and towards night some light refreshment. He has never used wine, or any other liquor that could intoxicate. But, for some years past, by advice of his physicians, he uses a kind of very old wine, or rather beer, as are all the Chinese wines, of which he takes a glass hot in the middle of the day, and another towards evening. His ordinary drink during his meals is tea, either simply steeped in water, or well mixed with milk, or composed of different kinds of tea pounded together, worked and prepared in different fashions. These drinks of prepared tea are generally very agreeable to the taste, and many of them very nourishing, without loading the stomach.

Notwithstanding the quantity and the magnificence of the dishes which are served to his Majesty, he never spends more than a quarter of an hour at each meal. I should have found difficulty in believing this,

if I had not myself very often had proof of it when I was in the antechamber of the apartment where he was taking his meal, or in other passages, where I have been taken to see all that was served to him carried in or brought out. The dishes, which should be eaten hot, are in vessels of gold or silver, of such construction that they will serve at the same time for plates or for chafing-dishes. These vessels have almost the form of our large silver dishes, arranged with two movable rings, taking the place of what we call the ears of the dish. The bottom of these dishes is double, and about the base of the higher one is soldered a pipe, of two inches in diameter, and raised about an inch above the edge of the dish. It is by this pipe that they introduce between the two bottoms lighted charcoal, for which the pipe serves as an air-hole. The whole has a cover of proper size, around which passes the pipe, and the dishes are thus kept hot for a long time ; so that when his Majesty is walking in the palace or in the gardens, he takes his meal in the place where it finds him when the hour for it has come. All the different dishes which should be served to him are carried by the eunuchs in large varnished boxes, some of which are of several stories. By this means they have nothing to fear from the wind or the rain, or any other injuries from the weather.

The great officers of the palace are not employed more than a quarter of an hour at each meal. The dishes which they serve at table are already cut up into small pieces. It is not the custom there to serve

many courses or any dessert. The fruits, pastry, and other dishes of dessert, they eat either in the evening before they go to sleep, or at some time during the day, by way of refreshment. They never use wines at meals which are taken at the palace. Those who find it necessary, take it in the evening, after they have left the palace, and there is no probability that they will have to appear again that day before the Emperor.

VIII.

THE RHODE ISLAND PRIVATEER.

1745.

[THE following letter contains a chapter in the early history of the Rhode Island people, which has never before been published. Strange that the story of this cruise, after being buried so long, should now be unearthed; that, after being locked up in the old French of the original writer for one hundred and thirty years, it should now be brought to light for the benefit of a distant generation!

Perhaps it may be a matter of interest to the descendants of Captain Simeon Potter, and of the others, who, in the "Old French War," were together in the good ship "Prince Charles of Lorraine,"—

"As they sailed, as they sailed."

NOTE. — We will add an extract from a letter received from a gentleman in Rhode Island, which gives the subsequent life of Captain Potter:—

"Captain Potter returned to Bristol, where he lived many years, and where he died, leaving a large fortune, which, as he had no children, was divided among his nine sisters. The silver he brought from Oyapoc was also given to them. Some pieces still remain in the possession of their descendants.

One of these sisters married Mark Anthony De Wolf, first lieutenant at the time of the attack on Oyapoc. He was a young man of French and German descent, brought by Captain Potter from the Island of Guadaloupe." — *Trans.*]

LETTER of Father Fauque, Missionary of the Society of Jesus, to Father —, of the same Society, containing an Account of the Capture of Fort d'Oyapoc by an English pirate.¹

At CAYENNE, the 22d of December, 1744.

MY REVEREND FATHER, — The peace of our Lord be with you! I will make you a partaker of the greatest happiness I have experienced in my life, by informing you of the opportunity I had of suffering something for the glory of God.

I returned to Oyapoc on the 25th of October last. Some days afterwards, I received at my house. Father d'Autilhac, who had returned from his mission to Ouanari, and Father d'Huberlant, who is settled at the confluence of the rivers Oyapoc and Camoppi, where he had formed a new mission. Thus we found ourselves, three missionaries, together; and we were enjoying the pleasure of a reunion, so rare in these countries, when divine Providence, to try us, permitted the occurrence of one of those wholly unexpected events which in one day destroyed the fruit of many years' labor. I will relate it, with all the attending circumstances.

Scarcely had war been declared between France and England, when the English were sent from North America to cruise among the islands to the leeward of Cayenne. They determined to touch there, in the

¹ The words used by Father Fauque are "*corsaire anglois.*" — *Trans.*

hope of capturing some vessel, pillaging some dwellings, and, above all, of obtaining some news of the "Senau," which was lost not long since near the river Maroni. Having gone too far south, and the water giving out, they approached Oyapoc to obtain some. We should have been naturally informed of it, either by the Indians, who go out frequently to hunt or fish, or by the guard, which our commander had prudently posted upon a mountain at the mouth of the river, whence they could see to the distance of three or four leagues. But, on the one hand, the Aroüas Indians, who came from Mayacorè to Ouanari, having been seized by the English, gave them information of the little colony of Oyapoc, of which they were ignorant, and on which they had no designs when leaving their own country. On the other hand, the sentinels who were on guard, and who should have been our security, themselves acted as guides to those who surprised us. Thus every thing united to cause us to fall into the hands of these pirates.¹

Their chief was Captain Simeon Potter, a native of New England, fitted out to cruise with a commission from Williems Guéene, Governor of Rodelan,² and commanding the vessel "Prince Charles of Lorraine,"

¹ *Les corsaires.*

² Suspecting that *Rodelan* and *Rhode Island* were similar enough in sound to mislead Father Fauque, we examined the list of governors of Rhode Island, and found that William Greene was governor in 1744-5. This, therefore, was a Rhode Island privateer. Father Fauque says Captain Potter was "*Creole de la Nouvelle Angleterre.*" He, of course, means he was a native of New England, and we have thus translated it. — *Trans.*

of ten cannon, twelve swivel-guns, and a crew of sixty-two men. They cast anchor on the 6th of November, and began taking in water at the mountain d'Argent. (This is the name of the country on the inner side of the bay formed by the river d'Oyapoc.) On the 7th, their long-boat, returning to the ship, saw a canoe of Indians, which was coming from Cape Orange. (This is the cape which forms the other point of the bay.) The English pursued them, frightened them by a discharge of their gun, seized them, and carried them on shipboard. The next day, having seen a fire during the night on another mountain, which is called Mount Lucas, they sent and seized two young men who were placed there as sentinels. They might have had time to come and inform us ; but one of them, a traitor to his country, did not wish to do so.

After having in this way learned the situation, the force, and generally every thing which related to the post of Oyapoc, they determined to surprise it. They attempted the enterprize in the night, between the 9th and 10th. But, fearing lest daylight might overtake them before their arrival, they turned back, and kept themselves concealed during all the day of the 10th. The following night they took their measures better. They arrived a little after the setting of the moon, and, guided by the two young Frenchmen, they landed about a hundred yards from the fort of Oyapoc.

The sentinel at first took them for Indians or negroes, who came and went at all hours during the

night. He challenged them, but they made no reply, and he then at once concluded they were enemies. Every one woke up in surprise; but the English were within the place before any one had time to collect his thoughts. For myself, who was living outside the fort, and was roused by the first cry of the sentinel, having opened my door, I saw them file by in great haste; and, not being myself perceived, I immediately ran to awaken our Fathers.

So unexpected a surprise in the middle of a dark night, the weakness of the post, the few soldiers there to defend it (for there were not at that time more than ten or twelve men), the frightful shouts of a multitude which we supposed, as was natural, more numerous than it really was, the vivid and terrible fire which they kept up with their guns and pistols on entering the place, — all these things induced each one, by a first impulse of which he was not himself master, to take to flight, and conceal himself in the woods which surrounded us. Our commander, however, fired and wounded in the left arm the English captain, a young man about thirty years of age. What is singular, the captain was the only one wounded on either side.

Our two missionaries, however, who had no spiritual charge at this post, and one of whom, through his zeal and friendship, wished to remain at my place, pressed by my solicitations, took refuge in the depths of the forest, with some Indians of their attendants and all our servants. For myself, I remained in my house, which was distant from the fort about a hundred

yards, having resolved to go first to the church to consume the consecrated wafer, and afterwards to carry spiritual aid to the French, supposing that some of them had been wounded there ; as I thought, certainly not without reason, after having heard so much firing of guns, that our people had made some resistance.

I went out, therefore, to execute the first of these projects ; when a negro servant, who, through goodness of heart and fidelity (rare qualities among the slaves), had remained with me, represented to me that I would certainly be discovered, and they would not fail to fire at me in the first heat of the contest. I yielded to these reasons, and, as I only remained to render to my flock all the services demanded by my ministry, I felt scruples at uselessly exposing myself, and determined to wait until break of day to show myself.

You can easily imagine, my Reverend Father, what a variety of emotions agitated me during the remainder of that night. The air ceaselessly resounded with cries and shouts and yells, and with the discharge of guns and pistols. Presently I heard the doors and windows of the houses opened, and the furniture overthrown with a great crash ; and, as I was sufficiently near to distinguish perfectly the noise they made in the church, I was suddenly seized with an inward horror in the fear lest the Holy Sacrament might be profaned. I would have given a thousand lives to prevent this sacrilege ; but there was not time. Nevertheless, to hinder it by the only way which remained to me, I inwardly addressed myself to

Jesus Christ, and earnestly prayed Him to guard His adorable Sacrament from the profanation which I feared. What took place was in a way so surprising that it may reasonably be regarded as a miracle.

During all this tumult, my negro, who was perfectly aware of the danger we were running, and who had not the same reason with myself for this voluntary exposure, frequently proposed to me to take to flight. But I was unable to do so. I knew too well the obligations of my office; and I could only wait for the moment when it would be in my power to go to the fort, and see in what state were the French soldiers, the greater part of whom I supposed to be either dead or wounded. I said, therefore, to the slave that on this occasion he was his own master; that I could not force him to remain with me; but that, nevertheless, I should be pleased if he did not abandon me. I added that, if he had any grievous sin on his conscience, it would be best for him to confess it, to be prepared for any contingency, since he was not certain but what they might take away his life. This conversation made an impression on him, so that he recovered courage and remained firm.

As soon as day dawned, I ran to the church, creeping through the underwood; and, although they had sentinels and marauders on every side, I had the good fortune not to be seen. As I entered the sacristy, which I found open, tears filled my eyes when I saw the cupboard for the vestments and linen, where also I kept the chalice and the sacred vessels, broken open and shattered, and many of the vestments scattered

here and there. I went into the choir of the church, where I saw the altar half uncovered, and the cloths thrown together in a heap. I examined the tabernacle, and found they had not noticed a little piece of cotton, which I was accustomed to place at the opening of the lock to prevent the *ravers* from getting into it. (This is an insect very common in the islands, which only comes out at night, and is very similar to the gadfly.) I supposed that the door was also broken open; but, placing my hand upon it, I found that it had not been touched. Overcome with wonder and joy and thankfulness, I took the key which these heretics had had under their hands. I opened it with reverence, and partook of the Sacrament, very uncertain whether I should ever again have that blessing; for what has not a man of my profession to fear from pirates, and these pirates, too, being English?

After I had thus received the Sacrament, I fell on my knees to return thanks; and I told my negro to go in the mean while into my chamber, which was near at hand. He went there; but, in returning, was seen and arrested by a sailor. The slave begged for mercy, and the Englishman did not do him any harm. I showed myself then at the door of the sacristy, and immediately saw that I was aimed at. It was necessary, therefore, to surrender; so I came forward, and we took together the way to the fort. When we entered the place, I saw every face expressing the greatest joy, each one congratulating himself that they had captured a priest.

The first one who approached me was the captain

himself. He was a man small in stature, and not in any respect differing from the others in dress. He had his left arm in a sling, a sabre in his right hand, and two pistols in his belt. As he was acquainted with some words of French, he told me "that I was very welcome ; that I had nothing to fear, as no one would attempt my life."

In the mean while, M. de Lage de la Landerie, Writer of the king, and our storekeeper, having appeared, I asked him in what condition were our people, and if many of them were killed or wounded. He answered me that they were not ; that of our soldiers he had seen only the sergeant and one sentinel, and that on neither side was any one wounded but the English captain alone, in whose power we now were. I was delighted to learn that our commander, the officers, and their soldiers, had sufficient time to escape ; and as by this fact the reasons which had induced me to remain no longer existed, and as my personal ministry was not necessary, I should have much preferred being at liberty, and, could I have done so, would have retreated. But I could not longer dream of that ; and at that very moment two of our soldiers, who were found concealed, were seized, and increased the number of our prisoners.

At length dinner-time came. I was invited, but I certainly had no inclination to eat. I knew that our soldiers and the two missionary Fathers were in the depth of the forest, without clothes, food, or aid. I had no news of them, nor was I able to procure any. This reflection overwhelmed me ; it was necessary,

however, to accept their repeated invitations, which seemed to me to be sincere.

Scarcely had the meal commenced, when I saw arriving the first plunder they had made at my house. It was natural that I should be moved. Indeed, I showed it ; so that the captain said to me, as an excuse for himself, that the King of France had first declared war against the King of England, and that in consequence of it the French had already taken, pillaged, and burned an English post named Campo, near Cape Breton, and that several persons, including children, had been smothered in the flames.

I answered him that, without wishing to enter into the detail of the affairs of Europe, our respective kings being to-day at war, I did not take it amiss ; but was only surprised that he should have come to attack Oyapoc, which was not worth the trouble. He replied that he himself exceedingly regretted having come here, as this delay might cause him to miss two merchant vessels, richly loaded, which were on the point of sailing from the harbor of Cayenne. I then said to him that, since he saw for himself how inconsiderable was this post, and that he had scarcely any thing to gain from it, I prayed him to accept a reasonable ransom, for my church, myself, my negro, and every thing belonging to me. This proposition was reasonable, but was, nevertheless, rejected. He wished that I should treat with him for the fort and all its dependencies. But I bade him observe that this was not a fit proposition to make to a simple priest ; that, besides, the Court of France had so little

regard for the post that recent news from Paris had apprised us that it would be abandoned as soon as practicable. "Well," said he, in a spiteful way, "since you do not wish to entertain my proposition, we must continue our depredations, and make reprisals for all that the French have done against us."

They continued, therefore, to transport from our houses furniture, clothes, provisions, all with a disorder and confusion that was remarkable. What gave me the deepest pain was to see the sacred vessels in these profane and sacrilegious hands. I collected myself for a moment, and, awakening all my zeal, I told them what reason and faith and religion inspired me to say in the most forcible manner. With words of persuasion I mingled motives of fear for so criminal a profanation. The example of Belshazzar was not forgotten ; and I am able to say to you with truth, my Reverend Father, that I saw many moved, and disposed to return these articles to me ; but cupidity and avarice prevailed, and on the same day all the silver was packed up and carried aboard the vessel.

The captain, more susceptible of feeling than all the others, as he had always seemed to me, told me that he would willingly yield to me what he was able to return, but that he had no control over the will of the others ; that all the crew having part in the booty, he was not able, as captain, to dispose of any but his own share ; but that he would do all that was in his power to induce the others to agree to what I proposed. This was to pay them at Cayenne, or at Surinam (a Dutch colony, which was not far distant, and

where, they told me, they wished to go), or even in Europe by bills of exchange, for the value of the silver in the sacred vessels. But he was not able to obtain any thing.

Some time afterwards, the first lieutenant asked me, through an interpreter, "what induced me to surrender myself to them?" I replied to him, "that the persuasion I was under that some of our soldiers had been wounded had determined me to remain for their relief." "And did you not fear being killed?" he added. "Yes, without doubt," I said; "but the fear of death is not capable of stopping a minister of Jesus Christ, when he should discharge his duty. Every true Christian is obliged to sacrifice his life rather than commit a sin; and I should have thought that I was guilty of a very great one, if, having charge of souls in my parish, I had entirely abandoned them in their need. You know, indeed," I continued, "you Protestant people, who pride yourselves so much on reading the Scriptures, that it is only the hireling shepherd who flees before the wolf when he attacks the sheep." At this discourse they looked at one another, and seemed to me to be entirely astonished. This lesson is, without doubt, something a little different from that of their pretended Reformation.

For myself, I was all the while uncertain with regard to my own fate, and I saw well that I had every thing to fear from such people. I addressed myself, therefore, to the holy guardian angels, and I began a *Novena*¹ in their honor, not doubting but

¹ A series of devotions extending through nine days. — *Trans.*

they would cause something to turn to my advantage. I prayed them to assist me in this difficult emergency in which I found myself ; and I should say here, to give a higher sanction to this devotion, so well known and so established in the usage of the Church, what I have recognized in my own particular case, that I have received each day the signal blessings of God, through the intercession of these heavenly spirits.

However, as soon as night approached, — that is to say, towards six o'clock, for that is the time at which the sun sets here during the whole year, — the English drum commenced beating. They assembled on the Place, and posted their sentinels on all sides. That being done, the rest of the crew, as long as the night lasted, did not cease eating and drinking. For myself, I was constantly visited in my hammock, since they feared, without doubt, that I would try to escape. In this they were mistaken ; for two reasons detained me. The first was, that I had given them my parole, by which I had again constituted myself their prisoner, and I could not go out of their hands except by means of exchange or by ransom. The second was, that, as long as I remained with them, I had some slight hope that I might recover the sacred vessels, or at least the vestments and other furniture of my church. As soon as it was day, the pillage recommenced, with the same confusion and the same disorder as the day before. Each carried to the fort whatever happened to fall into his hands, and threw it down in a pile. One arrived wearing an old cassock ; another in a woman's petticoat ; a third with

the crown of a bonnet on his head. It was the same with those who guarded the booty. They searched in the heap of clothes, and when they found any thing which suited their fancy, — as a peruke, a laced *chapeau*, or a dress, — they immediately put it on, and made three or four turns through the room, with great satisfaction, after which they resumed their fantastical rags. They were like a band of monkeys or of savages, who had never been away from the depths of the forest. A parasol or a mirror, the smallest article of furniture a little showy, excited their admiration. This did not surprise me, when I learned that they had scarcely any communication with Europe, and that Rodelan was a kind of little republic, which did not pay any tribute to the King of England, which elected its own governor every year, and which had not even any silver money, but only notes for daily commerce ; for this is the impression I gained from all they told me.

In the evening, the lieutenant informed himself of every thing which related to the dwellings of the French along the river, — how many there were of them, at what distances they were, how many inhabitants each had, &c. Afterwards, he took with him ten men, and one of the young Frenchmen who had already served as guide to surprise us ; and, after having made all the necessary preparations, they set out, and went up the river. But they found nothing, or very few articles, because the colonists, having been warned by our fugitives, had placed all their effects in concealment, and particularly their negroes,

who, more than any thing else, excited the cupidity of the English. Finding themselves thus disappointed in their hopes, they spent their anger on the buildings, which they burned, without, however, injuring the plantations. This, however, caused us to suspect that they had some intentions of returning.

As to those of us who were in the fort, we spent this night very much like the preceding, — the same agitations, the same excesses on the part of our enemies, and the same disquietude on our part. The second lieutenant, who was left in command, did not lose sight of me, fearing, without doubt, that I wished to profit by the absence of the captain and the first lieutenant to make my escape. I had a great deal of difficulty in reassuring them on this point, and could not convince them. People of this kind, accustomed to judge others by themselves, are not able to imagine that an honorable man, that a priest, was able and obliged to keep his parole in such a case.

When the day dawned, he seemed a little less uneasy on my account. Towards eight o'clock, they all placed themselves at table; and, after a miserable repast, one of them attempted to enter into a controversy with me. He put many questions to me about Confession, about the worship which we gave to the Cross, to images, &c. "Do you confess your parishioners?" he presently asked me.

"Yes," I replied, "whenever they come to me; but they do not do so as often as they should, or as I could wish them, for the zeal I have for the salvation of their souls."

“And do you really think,” he added, “that their sins are remitted as soon as they have declared them to you?”

“No, assuredly,” I said to him; “a mere confession is not sufficient to produce this. It is necessary that it should be accompanied by a true sorrow for the past and a sincere resolution for the future, without which auricular Confession will have no efficacy to blot out sins.”

“And as to the images and the Cross,” he replied, “do you think that the prayer would be equally efficacious without this, which is the external of religion?”

“The prayer is good, without doubt,” I answered him; “but permit me to ask you, with regard to yourself, why in families do they preserve the portraits of a father, a mother, or their ancestors? Is it not principally to awaken their own remembrances in thinking of the benefits they have received from them, and to animate them to follow their good examples? For it is not exactly the picture which they honor, but it brings back to them all which it represents. In the same manner, you need not imagine that we Roman Catholics adore the wood or the brass; but we use it to nourish, so to say, our devotion. For how could a reasonable being remain unaffected while beholding the figure of a God dying on the Cross for His love to us? What effect may not be produced on the soul and the heart by the image of a martyr who is giving his life for Jesus Christ?”

“Oh, I do not understand it so,” said the English[•]

man to me ; and I well knew from his manner that their ministers deceive them in telling them that the Papists, as they call us, superstitiously reverence and adore the Cross and the images, valuing them for themselves.

I was anxiously waiting for the return of those who had been to visit the dwellings, when they came to me to say that it was necessary I should go on board the ship, as Captain Potter wished to see me and speak with me. I had done every thing in my power by urging, soliciting, and representing, as earnestly as I was able, all the reasons I had for not embarking so soon. But I could gain nothing, and I was obliged to obey in spite of myself. The commander of the party on shore, who, in the absence of the others, was the second lieutenant, when I came to speak to him on this point, taking hold of his tongue with one hand, and with the other making a semblance of piercing or cutting it, gave me to understand that, if I said any more, I might expect bad treatment. I had reason to think that he was annoyed at the strong and pathetic address I had made with regard to the profanation of the ornaments of the church and the sacred vessels.

We embarked, therefore, towards three o'clock in the afternoon, in a canoe ; and, although the ship was not much more than three leagues distant (the captain having now caused it to enter the river), we nevertheless only reached it in about eight hours, in consequence of the remissness of the rowers, who were constantly drinking. When at a great distance I saw the hull of the vessel by the light of the moon, it

seemed to me to be entirely out of the water. It had, indeed, run aground on the shore, and had only a depth of three feet of water. This was the occasion of great alarm to me ; for I imagined that this might be the fault of my negro, whom they had selected as one of the pilots, and I thought that the captain had sent to seek me to make me bear the penalty which my slave merited, or at least that I should perish with the others in case the ship should be wrecked. What confirmed me for some time in this sad supposition was the little degree of welcome I received ; but I have since been informed that there was no design in this, and that the cold reception which alarmed me was caused by the fact that they were all busy in working the vessel, to relieve themselves as soon as possible from the uncomfortable position in which they were.

As soon as our canoe had reached the ship, I saw descending and coming to me a young man, who murdered the French language in some little attempt to speak it, and who took my hand, kissed it, and informed me that he was an Irishman and a Roman Catholic. He even made the sign of the Cross, which he did indifferently well ; and he added that, in right of his office as second gunner, he had a berth which he wished to give me, and that, if any one should take it into his head to show me the least disrespect, he well knew how to avenge it. This introduction, though shared in by a man who seemed to be very drunk, did not fail to tranquillize me somewhat. He gave me his hand, to aid me in climbing up to the deck

by means of the ropes. Scarcely had I mounted thither when I encountered my negro. I asked him at once why he caused the ship to run aground, and was reassured when he told me that it was the fault of the captain, who was obstinate in holding his course in the middle of the river, although he had repeatedly told him that the channel ran near the shore. At the same time the captain appeared on the quarter-deck, and told me, with great coldness, to go down into the cabin, after which he continued to devote himself to working the vessel.

My Irishman, however, did not leave me, but, sitting at the door, renewed his protestations of good-will, assuring me always that he was a Roman Catholic; that he wished to confess before I left the ship; that he had formerly received the Sacrament, &c. And, as in all his conversation, he constantly mingled invectives against the English nation, they made him leave me, forbidding him to speak with me for the future, under penalty of chastisement. He received this with a very bad grace; swearing, blustering, and protesting that he would speak with me in spite of them.

However, he went away; and scarcely had he gone when another came, as drunk as the first, and, like him, too, an Irishman. He was the surgeon, who at first addressed me with some Latin words,—*Pater, misereor*. I attempted to reply to him in Latin; but I soon found that these words constituted the whole of his knowledge of the language; and, as he was no better acquainted with French, we could hold no conversation together.

In the mean while it grew late, and I felt sleepiness pressing on me, having scarcely closed my eyes during the preceding nights. I did not know where to go to obtain a little repose. The ship was so careened over that it was necessary to be continually fastened to prevent one's self rolling. I wanted to lie down in one of the three berths; but I did not dare, for fear some one would immediately force me to leave it. The captain saw my embarrassment, and, touched with the miserable figure we made, sitting on the chests, — the storekeeper and myself, — he told us we could lodge in the berth at the bottom of the cabin. He even added, politely, that he regretted not being able to give one to each, but his ship was too small to do so. I very willingly accepted his offer, and we arranged for ourselves as well as we could on a pile of rags.

Notwithstanding all the disquietudes of my situation, I was drowsy from weariness, and during the night slept half the time. Being half the time awake, I perceived that the vessel had begun moving. It insensibly floated; and, to prevent it from afterwards settling down again, they drove two yard-arms into the mud, one on each side, which should hold the hull of the vessel in equilibrium.

As soon as day came, and it was necessary to take some nourishment, I had a new source of torment, for the water was so offensive that I was not able even to taste it. The Indians and negroes, who certainly are not at all fastidious, preferred to drink the water of the river, however muddy and brackish it may be. I

inquired, therefore, of the captain why he did not procure other water, since very near this was a spring, to which I was accustomed to send to procure the water I used at the fort. He made no reply, thinking, perhaps, that I wished to lead him into some ambush. But, after having thoroughly questioned the French, the negroes, and the Indians, whom he had taken prisoners, he determined to send the long-boat to land, with my slave. It made many trips during that and the following days; so that we all had the pleasure of having good water, although many scarcely used it, preferring the wine and rum which they had on the deck at will.

I ought, however, to say in commendation of the captain that he was entirely sober. He even frequently expressed to me the pain he felt at the excesses of his crew, to whom, according to the custom of these pirates, he was obliged to allow an abundance of liberty. He made me afterwards a disclosure, which was sufficiently pleasant.

“Monsieur,” he said to me, “do you know that tomorrow, being the fifth of November, according to our method of computation” [for we French people count it to be the fifteenth], “the English have a great festival?”

“And what is the festival?” I asked him.

“We burn the Pope,” he answered, laughing.

“Explain to me,” I said; “what is this ceremony?”

“They dress up in a burlesque style,” he said, “a kind of ridiculous figure, which they call the Pope, and which they afterwards burn, while singing some

ballads ; and all this is in commemoration of the day when the Court of Rome separated England from its communion.¹ To-morrow," he continued, "our people who are on shore will perform this ceremony at the fort."

After a while, he caused his pennon and flag to be hoisted. The sailors manned the yard-arms, the drum was beaten, they fired the cannon, and all shouted, five times, "Long live the King!" This having been done, he called one of the sailors, who, to the great delight of those who understood his language, chanted a very long ballad, which I judged to be the recital of all this unworthy story. You see in this, my Reverend Father, an instance which fully confirms what all the world knew before, that heresy always pushes to an extreme its animosity against the visible Head of the Church.

During the night a large boat came to us, manned by rowers. The captain, who was always on his guard, and who was not able to lay aside the idea that our people were seeking to surprise him, caused them immediately to clear the decks. They at once fired their swivel-gun ; but the boat, having made its

¹ Either Captain Potter or Father Fauque, in this statement, makes a mistake. On November 5th, in England, they celebrate their escape from the "Gunpowder Plot." There is in the Prayer-book "A Form of Prayer with Thanksgiving," which is to be used on that day "for the happy deliverance of King James I. and the Three Estates of England from the most traitorous and blood-intended massacre by Gunpowder ; and also for the happy arrival of His Majesty King William on this day, for the deliverance of our church and nation." The common people call it "Guy Fawkes' Day." — *Trans.*

signal, all was again quiet. It was the lieutenant, who had been to plunder the dwellings along the river. He reported that he had only visited two or three plantations, which he had found entirely deserted. He added that he was going to ascend the river again, to consign every thing to the flames. In fact, after having supped and had sufficient consultation with his principal, he departed again. I asked permission to go with him as far as the fort to look for my papers, but it was refused me. However, to soften a little the pain which this denial gave me, Captain Potter promised that he himself would go thither with me. I therefore summoned up my patience, and endeavored by a little sleep to repair the loss of the preceding night ; but it was useless. The noise, the confusion, and the bad smells did not allow me to close my eyes.

On Sunday morning, I waited to see some religious service, for up to this time I had not recognized any mark of Christianity ; but every thing went on as usual, so that I could not refrain from showing my surprise. The captain told me "that in their sect each one worshipped God in his own way ; that they had among them, as elsewhere, the good and the bad ; and that 'he who acted right would be approved.'" At the same time he took out of his chest a book of devotion ; and I noticed that, during this day and the following Sunday, he occasionally looked at it. As he always seemed to me to be very reasonable, I took pains, from time to time, to introduce into my conversation some word of controversy or of morality, which

he received very well, having explained to him by the interpreters what he did not himself understand. He even told me one day "that he did not wish longer to pursue the business of privateering; that God might to-day give him property, which, perhaps, might shortly be taken away from him by others; that he was well aware he should take nothing away with him in dying; but, nevertheless, I should not expect to find more piety in a French, or even in a Spanish, privateer than I saw in his ship; because these sorts of armaments were scarcely compatible with the exercises of devotion." I confess to you, my Reverend Father, that I was astonished to hear such sentiments in the mouth of an American Huguenot; for every one knows how entirely this part of the world is removed from the kingdom of God and every thing which can lead to it. I have often exhorted him to pray the Lord for light, and that He would not allow him to die in the darkness of heresy, in which he had the misfortune to be born and brought up.

As the boats were constantly going and coming, from the shore to the vessel and from the vessel to the shore, transporting the pillage, one came that very evening, bringing a French soldier and five Indians. He was one of our soldiers, who, fifteen days before, had been to seek the Indians to engage them to work, and, not knowing that the English were masters of the fort, had run into their hands. I represented to Captain Potter that, as the Indians were free among us, he neither ought to nor could take them prisoners, particularly as they had not been found with arms in

their hands. But he answered me "that this kind of people were used for slaves in Rodelan, and that he should take them thither in spite of all that I could say." He has, in fact, carried them away, with the Aroüas whom he had first captured in the Bay of Oya-poc. Perhaps he has a fancy to return to this country, and intends to use these miserable beings in making his descent on the coast, or perhaps he will release them at Surinam.

I had, nevertheless, on Monday morning, reminded him of the promise he had made that he would take me on shore ; but he was not then able to do any thing, and I was obliged to content myself with fair words, so that I despaired of ever again visiting my old home. On Tuesday, however, he came to me to say that, if I wished to go to the fort, he would take me. I most willingly accepted the offer ; but, before I embarked, he strongly recommended to me not to attempt flight, because, he assured me, I would be stopped by the discharge of a gun. I reassured him on that point, and we set out.

The commander of the boat was the second lieutenant, the same who had threatened to cut my tongue ; and, as I complained to the captain, who had, without doubt, spoken to him about it, he made the strongest apologies on that point to me while on the way, and showed me a thousand acts of politeness.

Before I was scarcely aware of it, we arrived at our destination ; and immediately I saw all those who were guarding the fort come to the landing, some with guns and others with swords, to receive me.

Little accustomed to good faith, perhaps, they were always afraid that I should escape from them, in spite of all that I was able to say to quiet them on my account.

After we had taken a little rest, I asked to go to my house, and they conducted me thither under a strong escort. I began by first visiting the church, to enable me to see for the last time what was its condition. As I was not able to restrain my tears and sighs on seeing the altars overturned, the pictures torn, the sacred stones broken in pieces and scattered on every side, the two principal members of the band said to me "that they were very sorry for all this disorder; that it was done contrary to their intentions by the sailors, the negroes, and the Indians, in the excitement of pillage and the heat of drunkenness, and that they made their apologies to me for it." I assured them "that it was of God principally; and, first of all, they should ask pardon for such a desecration of His temple, and that they had great reason to fear lest He should avenge Himself, and punish them as they deserved." I then threw myself on my knees, and made a special confession to God, to the Holy Virgin, and to Saint Joseph, in honor of whom I had set up these altars to excite the devotion of my parishioners; after which I arose, and we went on to my house.

I had five or six persons around me, who most strictly watched all my steps every moment, and, above all, the direction in which I looked. I did not then understand the occasion of all this attention on

their part, but I have since learned it. These good people, avaricious to the last extreme, imagined that I had money concealed, and that, when I showed so much anxiety to return to shore, it was to see whether any one had discovered my treasure. We entered the house, then, together; and it was the occasion of sincere sorrow to me, I must confess, to see the frightful disorder in which it was.

It is now nearly seventeen years since I came for the first time to Oyapoc, and began to collect all that was necessary for the foundation of these Indian missions, foreseeing that this section of country, where the savages are so numerous, would furnish a great career for our zeal, and that the parish of Oyapoc would become, as it were, the storehouse of all the other establishments. I had not ceased ever after to be always making better provision, through the charitable cares of one of our Fathers, who wished to be my particular correspondent at Cayenne. God has permitted that one single day should destroy the fruit of so much labor and of so many years, that His holy name might be praised. What gave me most concern was, to know that the three missionaries who remained in that quarter were stripped of every thing, without my having it in my power for the present to procure even the merest necessaries, notwithstanding all the liberality and the good intentions of our Superiors.

At last, after having gone rapidly through all the small apartments, which were used as lodgings for our Fathers when they came to visit me, I entered my study. I found all my books and papers on the

ground, scattered, mingled together, and half torn to pieces. I took what I could ; but, as they pressed me to finish, I was obliged to return to the fort.

In a few hours afterwards, those arrived who had been to plunder the dwellings ; and, after being a little refreshed, they continued their route to the ship, carrying with them what they had pillaged, which, by their own acknowledgment and to their great regret, was inconsiderable.

The next day, all the morning was passed in making up packages, in destroying the furniture which remained in the different houses, and in tearing off the locks and the hinges of the doors, particularly those which were made of brass. At last, about mid-day, they set fire to the houses of the inhabitants, which were shortly reduced to ashes, having been only roofed with straw, according to the custom of the country. As I saw that mine would certainly share the same fate, I was very pressing to be conducted thither, that I might recover more of my books and papers than I had hitherto been able to secure. The second lieutenant, who was then in command, made a parade before me of discharging a pistol, which he carried in his belt, and then he immediately loaded it, taking great pains that I should see it. I have since learned why he took so much trouble in this matter. Immediately afterwards, he said to me that, if I wished to go to my house, he would conduct me.

Having reached my house, I went again to look for certain papers ; and, as there remained with me only a single sailor, who spoke French, all the others being

a little scattered, he said to me, "My Father, all our people are at a distance ; save yourself, if you wish." I was well aware that he wished me to attempt it, and I therefore replied coldly to him "that men of my profession do not know what it is to break their word." I added "that, if I had wished to take to flight, I could long ago have done so, as there had been many favorable opportunities while they were amusing themselves with pillaging or drinking."

At length, after having thoroughly searched everywhere without finding any thing more, I informed them that I had finished, and that we would go when it pleased them. Then the lieutenant approached me, with a grave and threatening air, and told me, through the interpreter, "that I must show the place where I had concealed my money, or I would find myself in trouble." I answered, with that confidence which truth gives, "that I had not concealed any money ; that, if I had thought to put any thing in a place of safety, I should have begun with those things that are used at the altar." "Deny the fact as you will," the interpreter then replied to me by order of the officer, "we are certain, and cannot doubt it, that you have a large amount of money, for the soldiers who are our prisoners on board have told us so ; and yet we have found but very little in your wardrobe. You must, therefore, have concealed it ; and, if you do not immediately give it up, take care of yourself. You know that my pistol is not badly loaded." I fell on my knees, saying "that they were masters of my life, since I was in their hands and at their will ; that if,

however, they wished to go to that extreme, I begged them to allow me a moment for prayer ; that, for the rest, I had no other money than what they had already taken." At last, after having left me for some time in that position, and looking at each other, they told me to rise and follow them. They took me under the gallery of the house, which was built over a little grove of cocoa-trees, which I had planted like an orchard, and, having made me sit down, the lieutenant also took a chair, and then putting on an air of gayety, he said, "that I had no occasion for fear, as they did not intend to do me any injury ; but that it was impossible I had not concealed any thing, since there was sufficient time, as I had seen them from before my door when they came to take the fort." I replied to him, what I had already said so often, "that we had been so much terrified by the noise they made during the night, with their shouts and cries, and the incessant firing they kept up, that at first we thought of nothing but escaping death by a speedy flight ; the more so as we imagined that they had scattered themselves at the same time through all the houses."

"But, after all," he replied, "the French prisoners are well acquainted with your means. Why should they have told us that you had plenty of money, if it were not true?"

"Do you not see," said I, "that they wished to conciliate you, and make their court to you at my expense?"

"No, no," he continued ; "it is because you do not wish to give up your money. I nevertheless assure

you, and I give you my word of honor, that you shall have your liberty, and that we will release you here without burning your houses, if you will, after all, show your treasure."

"It is entirely useless," I answered him, wearied with all these conversations, "that you follow me up with these earnest appeals. Again, once for all, I have nothing else to say to you but what I have so often repeated."

He then spoke to the sailor who acted as interpreter, and who had kept his eyes on me during all this interview, to see whither I directed my looks. He then went out to visit my cocoa-grove. I then recalled a little interview I had with the captain, a few days before. I said to him "that, if the sentinels had done their duty, and given us notice of the arrival of the enemy, we would have concealed our most valuable effects."

"In what place," he asked me, "would you have hid all these things? Would you have hid them in the ground?"

"No," I replied; "we would have been contented with carrying them into the woods, and covering them with branches."

It was, then, for this, that these cunning pirates, who weigh and put together all our words, imagining that I did not have sufficient time to carry very far what I esteemed most precious, were induced, as the last effort of their cupidity and distrust, to make a search under the trees in my garden. But it was impossible that they should find what had never been

placed there ; so the sailor soon grew tired of searching ; and, he having returned, we went together to the fort, — they without any booty, and I with some few of the papers I had collected.

Then for some time they consulted together, and about three o'clock they went to set my house on fire. I prayed them at least to spare the church, and this they promised me. But, notwithstanding, they burned it ; and when I complained, they told me that the winds, which that day were very high there, had undoubtedly carried thither some sparks, which had set it on fire. With this answer I was obliged to be contented, leaving to God the time, the care, and the manner of avenging the insult offered to His house. For myself, seeing the flames rising up to the clouds, and having my heart pained with the most lively sorrow, I began to recite the seventy-eighth Psalm, "*Deus, venerunt gentes,*" &c. (" O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance," &c.)

At last, after every thing was carried to the boats, we ourselves embarked. It was a little after five o'clock ; and the sailors, who were to follow us in two small boats, finished by burning all the buildings of the fort. At length, having rowed out a little into the river, and allowing themselves to clear the shore very slowly with the current, they shouted many times, "*Houra,*" which is their "*Vive le roi,*" and their cry of joy. They had not, however, any great occasion to pride themselves on their expedition, since, had it not been for the black treason which delivered us into their hands, they would never have succeeded.

Neither was it of any use; because, though they had inflicted a great injury on us, they had themselves derived very little profit from it.

I had expected to find the ship where I left it; but it had already stood off in such a way that we did not arrive there till the night was far advanced; so that they did not discharge their booty until the next day, the morning of the 19th of the month. During the whole of this day they made no progress, although they used their oars, as their sails were useless for want of wind. This delay disquieted me very much, because I wished as soon as possible to know my fate. "Would they leave me at Cayenne?" I said to myself. "Will they carry me to Surinam? Will they take me to Barbadoes? or even as far as New England?" And, as I was occupying myself with these inquiries, lying in my berth, which I was not able to quit on account of my great weakness and the seasickness, which afflicted me terribly, some one came to tell me that they had sent on shore three of our soldiers, with one old Indian, captured in the canoe of the Aroüas, of which I have already spoken. I was a little surprised; and, on asking the captain the reason, he told me that it made so many useless mouths the less.

"And why," said I, "do you not do the same towards all the other prisoners?"

"It is," said he, "because I am waiting for a good ransom for the rest of you."

He would have given a much truer excuse if he had said, that, wishing to make a descent on Cayenne, he was afraid that some of his people might be captured,

in which case he wished to have some with whom to make an exchange, which did in reality happen, as we shall see in the end.

The wind having freshened a little in the evening, we continued our voyage through the whole night, and before noon approached Cayenne, off a high rock named *Connestable*, and which is five or six leagues distant. They had already learned of the disaster which had befallen *Oyapoc*, — perhaps by a note which a young Indian had written, or perhaps through some inhabitants of *Aproakac*, who had come to take refuge at Cayenne. But they were ignorant of all the circumstances; and the public, as it commonly happens in such cases, set in circulation many reports, each one more false than the last. Some said that every person at *Oyapoc* had been massacred, and that I, in particular, had suffered a thousand cruelties. Others published that there were many ships there, and that Cayenne would be obliged to submit to the same fate. What seemed to give a little sanction to the last news was, that the ship which had captured us carried with it three boats, which, with the long-boat, made five vessels. All having sails and looming up, at a distance caused them to make a formidable appearance to those who were on shore.

For myself, — in the persuasion I had that our Fathers, whom I had left in the woods, or some other of the French who had fled, would not fail to go as soon as possible to Cayenne to give them certain intelligence of our sad lot, or at least to forward ample information with regard to it, — I imagined they

would send some one to rescue me. But I was deceiving myself, and they were entirely ignorant of every thing that had happened to me. So Friday passed, and the next day we cast anchor very near the *Enfant Perdu*. This is a rock, distant from the land six thousand and thirteen *toises*,¹ as it has been exactly measured by M. de la Condamine, member of the Royal Academy of Sciences, on his return from Peru.

Towards nine o'clock in the morning, after a great stir in the ship, I saw two large boats set out, which went to a little river called *Macouria*, especially to plunder the residence of a certain lady; in revenge, they said, for some grievances which had been previously suffered by the English, who had gone there to purchase syrups. For, my Reverend Father, you must know that in time of peace that nation trades to this place, principally to furnish horses for the sugar plantations. As I saw but thirteen men in each boat, including two Frenchmen, who were to serve as guides, I began from that moment to entertain some hopes of my liberty; because I fully believed, as the weather was very clear, they would see this manœuvre from the land, and not fail to fall upon them. I was thus indulging in these pleasant thoughts when they came to tell me that the boats were about to go first to *Couron*, which is about four leagues distant from *Macouria*, to capture there, if possible, Father Lombard, the missionary, who had labored with so much success and for so long a time in Guy-

¹ A *toise* is two yards. — *Trans.*

ane, in the conversion of the Indians. Their object was, that they might exact a ransom for him in conformity with his age and merits.

I leave you to imagine how like the stroke of a thunderbolt news of this kind came upon me, for I was well assured that, if this worthy missionary should be brought on board our ship, he would entirely sink under the fatigue. But Providence, which was not willing to afflict our missions to this extent, defeated their plan. They ran aground on the way, and were obliged to hold to their first design, which was to ravage Macouria alone. They, in fact, arrived there on Sunday morning, and spent that day and the following night in pillaging and destroying the dwelling which was the object of their hate. On Monday morning, after having set fire to the buildings, they returned on board, without having received the least opposition from any one. The negroes were so thoroughly terrified that they did not dare to show themselves, and the French who had been dispatched from Cayenne on Sunday morning had not yet been able to reach there.

During this expedition, those who had remained with me in the ship reasoned each one in accordance with his desires or his fears. Some prophesied a fortunate result to this enterprise, and others wished for it. At length, as each one was thus indulging in his own peculiar views, I saw again a great movement on board of our ship, towards three o'clock in the afternoon. It was caused by the departure of the boatswain, an energetic man, bold and determined, who, in com-

mand of nine men only, went in the long-boat to attempt a descent on the coast very near Cayenne, using as his guide a negro, who knew the coast, because he was a native of it. Perhaps also Captain Potter wished to make a diversion, and in that way prevent their sending a force from Cayenne against those of his people who had gone to Macouria.

However that might be, when I first learned the departure of the long-boat I could not doubt but that the Lord wished to relieve me from my captivity, persuaded as I was that, if the first party was not attacked, the second certainly would be. And what I anticipated in reality took place. The ten Englishmen, after having pillaged one of our dwellings, were encountered by a company of French, and entirely defeated. Three were killed on the spot, and seven were made prisoners. On our side there was but one soldier wounded, in the shoulder, by a musket-shot. As to my poor negro, it is surprising that in this fight he was not even wounded. The Lord, without doubt, wished to recompense him for his fidelity to his master. It was from him that they at length learned at Cayenne the particulars of the capture of Oyapoc, and every thing that related to me personally.

We who were on board were exceedingly anxious to learn the result of all these expeditions; but nothing came either from the shore or from Macouria. At last, when the sun began to appear, and it became sufficiently light for us to see at a distance, there was a constant stream of sailors going up to the round-top and coming down, who always reported that they could

see nothing. But at nine o'clock, Captain Potter came himself to tell me that he had seen three boats which, leaving Cayenne, had gone in the direction of Macouria, and no doubt were in pursuit of his people. To tranquillize him a little, I answered, "that they might be the boats of the inhabitants, who, after having heard Mass, were returning to their homes."

"No," he replied, "those are boats full of people. I have seen them perfectly with my glass, at a distance."

"Your people," I suggested, "will perhaps have left the river before the others reach it, and after that there can be no collision."

"All this does not worry me," he said. "My people are well armed and full of courage. The fortunes of war must decide it, if the two parties meet."

"But what do you think of your long-boat?" I asked him.

"I think it is captured," he said.

"Excuse me," said I to him, "if I say to you that there was a little temerity in your running the risk of a descent with so small a force. Do you, then, imagine that Cayenne is an Oyapoc?"

"That was far from being my idea," he answered; "but it is the too great ardor and excessive energy of the boatswain which has caused it. So much the worse for him if he has come to evil! I am, however, sorry for it," he continued; "for I have a great esteem for him, and he was very necessary to me. He has, without doubt, exceeded my orders; for I had advised him not to land, but only to examine from a short

distance as to the most commodious place to disembark."

After we had thus conferred together for a short time, he caused them to raise the anchor, and approached as near as possible to land and to Macouria. His object was as much to cut off the way for our boats, as to cover his people and shorten the return for them.

Nevertheless, all Sunday passed in great anxiety. Our enemies were aware of the fact that there were three ships in the harbor, because the boats going to Macouria had approached sufficiently near the port to discover them, and they had made the signal agreed upon with Captain Potter. But some had fears lest these vessels might come out and attack the ship during the night. So, about seven o'clock in the evening, they placed two swivel-guns in the windows, besides the twelve which were on deck along the sides of the ship. But the captain was very composed. He told me "that, so far from fearing that they would come and attack him, he, on the contrary, desired it; hoping thus to gain possession of those who should dare to approach him." He was thoroughly armed as a privateer: sabres, pistols, guns, lances, grenades, balls filled with bitumen and sulphur, grape-shot, — nothing was wanting.

I believe that no one slept that night. However, nothing appeared, either from Macouria or Cayenne, which was the cause of great uneasiness to us all. At length, at eight o'clock in the morning, the captain came to tell me that he had seen a great deal of smoke

on the shore at Macouria, and that his people had without doubt set fire to the buildings of Madame Gislet. (This is the name of the lady to whose residence the English had particularly directed their attention.) "I am very sorry," he added, "for I had expressly forbidden them to burn any thing." A little while after, they saw from the height of the round-top five canoes or boats, some of which seemed to be pursuing each other. They were our French people, who were giving chase to the English. Captain Potter, an able man in his profession, at once perceived this, and took measures accordingly; for he raised his anchor, and made again a movement to approach them. He called all his people to arms, having at the same time obliged all the prisoners, whether French or English, to descend into the hold. I wished myself to go there also; but he told me I could remain in my cabin, and he would notify me when it was time.

In the midst of this excitement, one of the boats which had come from Macouria drew nigh, as by dint of rowing; and to assure themselves that they were English, those in the vessel raised their pennant and flag and fired a gun, to which the boats having responded by the discharge of a musket, the signal on which they had agreed, tranquillity succeeded this first movement of fear. But there remained as yet one boat behind, which was coming very slowly with the *pagaye* (a kind of scull, or oar, which the Indians use to row their canoes), and they feared that it would be captured by our boats. No sooner, therefore, had the officer who commanded the first discharged in haste

the little they had brought with them, than he hurried back to convoy it. After having conducted it to its destination, and all the little booty they had taken having been embarked in the ship, each one thought of refreshing himself to the utmost for the fatigues of this marauding. Punch, lemonade, wine, brandy, sugar,—nothing was spared. Thus passed the rest of the day and the night of Sunday to Monday.

Among all these successes,—which, however inconsiderable they really might be, were yet occasions of triumph for them,—there remained one great source of chagrin, which was the capture of the long-boat and of the ten men who had landed in it. It became necessary, therefore, to think seriously of some means of rescuing them. For this reason, on Monday morning, after having consulted among themselves and held council after council, they came to find me, to say that, their ship dragging considerably, perhaps on account of the currents, which are very strong in these latitudes, or perhaps because they had only one small anchor remaining, they could not longer hold their anchorage, and they thought, therefore, of going to Surinam, a Dutch colony, twenty-four leagues or thereabouts from Cayenne; but, however, they very much wished to receive first some news of their long-boat and the people who had landed on Saturday.

I told them, in reply, “that this was very easy; that it was only necessary to fit out one of the boats which they had taken from us, and to send it to Cayenne with the proposal for an exchange of prisoners.”

“But would they be willing to receive us?” they asked me; “would they not inflict on us some injury? Would they permit us to return?”

It was easy for me to remove doubts which had so little foundation, by telling them, as is the case, “that the law of nations is the same in all countries; that the French did not pride themselves less than the English in observing it; that nothing was so common among civilized people as to see the generals mutually sending heralds-at-arms, trumpeters, or drummers, to carry their terms of agreement; and that, therefore, they need have no fear for those of their crew whom they might send to land.”

After renewed consultations, which they held among themselves, they began to make their proposals, some of which I found to be entirely unreasonable. For example, they wished to have returned to them their boat with all the arms, and to have all the prisoners released, whatever might be their number, in exchange for only four Frenchmen, which was our number.

I answered him, “that I did not think they would accede to this article of war; that, as far as it related to men, the usage is to change them head for head.”

“But, you alone, do you not value yourself as much as thirty sailors?” said one of the crowd to me.

“No, certainly,” I answered; “a man of my profession, in time of war, should not count for any thing.”

“All this is very well for wit,” said the captain; “but, since you take it in that way, I must go and make sail. I am able very well to bear the loss of

ten men ; it leaves me a large enough crew to continue my voyage."

Immediately he went out of the cabin to give his orders, and they began working the ship, &c. But, through all this manœuvring, I saw very well that it was only a feint on their part to intimidate me and induce me to offer them two thousand piastres, which they had already demanded for my ransom.

Nevertheless, as I had a great desire to free myself from their hands, although I did not let it appear outwardly, I took occasion to call Captain Potter and say to him, "that he need not be influenced by my views ; that he could at any time send a boat to Cayenne to make the proposals which he judged proper, leaving it to Monsieur the Commandant to accept or reject them." He followed this suggestion, and begged me myself to dictate the letter which he wished written ; and this I did, as his secretary, following exactly what he caused me to say.

I also, on my own account, wrote a few words to Monsieur d'Orvilliers and Father de Villeconte (our Superior-General), praying the first to stipulate in the articles of negotiation, if he had an opportunity, that they should return to me every thing in their possession belonging to my church ; offering myself to pay as much silver in weight as would equal that of the silver vessels, and a certain sum on which we would agree for the furniture, ornaments, and linen. At the same time, I begged our Father, if this negotiation succeeded, to send me the silver and the necessary balance for the account, by the return of the boat, to

the place where the exchange of prisoners was to be made, — that is to say, out at sea, half-way between the ship and the land.

All these letters being prepared, the boat was dispatched, and they sent in it, as the bearer of these letters, a sergent who had been made prisoner at Oyapoc. He was ordered to use the utmost diligence; and, as he was an energetic man, we should have had a prompt reply, but the wind and the current were so contrary that they could not make the port of Cayenne. We were all exceedingly disappointed: the English, because they began to be in want of water and their ship drifted again considerably, having only, as I have said, one small anchor, which they were obliged to manage with a grappling-iron; and we Frenchmen, because we were very anxious to regain our liberty. It was necessary, however, to be patient and to resign ourselves to the will of God until He should cause some new way to be opened.

At last, on Wednesday morning, having determined to ask the captain what course he had determined to pursue, I was agreeably surprised by hearing him say “that if I wished myself to go to Cayenne I was my own master, with the condition that I should cause to be sent back all the English who were prisoners there.”

“That does not depend upon me,” I said to him; “but I will promise you to make every effort with Monsieur the Commandant to obtain it.”

After some slight objections, which I easily re-

moved, we wrote a new letter to Monsieur d'Orvilliers, of which I was to be the bearer, and, every thing being ready, we embarked — four French and five English — to go to Cayenne. In taking leave of the captain, I said to him, “that if the war continued, and he or any others of his nation should come to Cayenne, I could not again be made prisoner.” He answered me, “that he knew that already; the custom being not twice to make prisoner of the same person in the course of the same war, at least, unless he should be taken with arms in his hands.”

I then thanked him for his honorable treatment of myself, and, grasping his hand, I said to him: “Monsieur, two things give me pain at this parting. It is not exactly the pillage you have made at Oyapoc, because the French will perhaps return you the same with interest; but it is, in the first place, because we have not both of us the same faith; and in the second place, because your people have not been willing to return to me the furniture of my church on the conditions I proposed, reasonable as they are, for it causes me to fear lest the profanation of what belongs to the temple of the Lord may draw down His anger upon you. I would advise you,” I added, while embracing him, “to pray God each day to enlighten you as to the true way to heaven; for as there is but one God, so there can be but one true faith.” After which I descended into the boat which was to carry us; and immediately I saw all the crew come up on deck, the flag and pennant were hoisted, the gun was fired, and we were many times saluted with

"*Houras*," to which we replied as often with "*Vive le roi*."

Scarcely had we gone a quarter of a league on our way when the ship got under sail, and, toward five o'clock, we lost sight of her. The sea, however, was very rough, and we had only miserable oars to row with, when, to complete our difficulty, our rudder became disabled. A hinge, which was held in its place by a screw below, came out and fell into the sea. We then resorted to the only expedient in our power that of attaching the ring of the rudder to the stern-post of the boat; but the iron shortly wore off the cord, and we found ourselves in great danger. What increased our fear was, that the night became very dark, and we were far distant from land. We determined, therefore, to anchor until next morning, when we could find out some way to relieve ourselves from this unfortunate condition. As the English appreciated better than we did the peril in which we were, one of them proposed to me to hoist the lantern high up on one of the masts, as a signal for succor. But I represented to him its uselessness, because we were too far distant to be seen, and, besides, no one would dare to come to us in the uncertainty whether we were friends or enemies.

Thus we passed a distressing night, between life and death; and what was very remarkable is, that we had anchored, without knowing it, between two large rocks, which we did not see until day dawned. After having returned thanks to God for having so visibly protected us, we resolved to gain the river, that, if

possible, we might repair the boat, or procure another at the neighboring dwellings, or, as a last resource, go by land to Cayenne. But behold! a new accident. As we took down the large mast, not having much strength of crew, they allowed it to go on the opposite side from that on which it should naturally fall. We all thought it would have crushed M. de la Landerie, but happily he had only some slight bruises. We took at that time—the sergeant and myself—one oar to steer, the others each taking one to row; and, aided partly by the wind (for we carried our foremast to enable us to avoid the breakers), and partly by the tide, which began to rise, but, above all, conducted by the Divine Providence which guided us, on the morning of the 26th we entered the little river Macouria, which I have already mentioned. None of us were acquainted with the channel; so that the English themselves earnestly avowed that it was God who had conducted us, safe and sound, in spite of the great dangers.

Our first object was to obtain some means of getting to Cayenne; but this was not an easy matter. In addition to the fact that we could not find a boat or any way of repairing our own, the negroes, who were the only persons left at the dwellings, were so frightened that they did not wish to recognize us. As it had already become known that I was a prisoner, they feared lest the English had sent me ashore as a lure, through my means to entrap the slaves. Nevertheless, after many protestations and prayers and solicitations, I reassured some, who, more courageous

than the rest, dared to approach us ; and, through their means, we obtained some little refreshment, of which we certainly stood very much in need. For myself, as I was scarcely able to take any nourishment, and for this reason was very weak, I was hardly able to sustain myself.

As soon as each one was a little recruited, I consigned to the negroes the boat, which we left in their care with all the rigging and sails, and we set out on our journey to Cayenne, along the borders of the ocean. We did not wish to go into the interior of the country, for fear of affording our enemies a knowledge of the place, which hereafter might be an injury to us. The night which followed favored my design, and I can say with truth that the five English whom I took with me saw nothing which could be of any service to them, if at any future day, in the course of this war, they should take a fancy to return to us.

It would be difficult, not to say impossible, my Reverend Father, to describe to you what we suffered during this journey of only three or four leagues. As the tide rose, and for that reason we were obliged to make our way over the high ground of the shore, where the sand is very shifting, we sunk into it ; and most of us had the greatest difficulty to drag ourselves along, so that I frequently saw the greater part of our party obliged to stop and rest. The English, particularly, being little accustomed to march, found the journey very long, and would have been very willing to be back in their vessel. But it was their fault that they found themselves in such difficulty. In

sending us ashore, they themselves knew that the boat in which we embarked was unseaworthy. They should have given me notice of it at the time, and I would have demanded another from the captain.

At last, by dint of encouraging and animating them, we reached the point which the river forms, and which fronts on the roadstead. It was about midnight when we arrived at the dwelling of Madame de Charanville, where the slaves, knowing the good heart and generosity of their mistress, although alone, gave us the best reception they were able, to recompense us for the privations we had suffered. I had taken the precaution to send before us a negro of our party, to remove their fears on our arrival; for without this, we should have run a great risk of not being received, so great was the fright which had everywhere seized on these poor wretches. So good a reception gave great satisfaction to the English, who themselves feared being killed or maltreated by the negroes, which would certainly have happened had I not been with them. For this reason they never left me. At length, after having taken a little rest, as soon as it was day we embarked in a boat we had found, and continued our route to Cayenne.

No sooner had they seen us at a great distance, than they well knew from our white flag that we were the deputies who came to make terms; and they immediately sent down a detachment to the port, who received us at the point of the bayonet and with presented arms, as is the custom on such occasions. All the ramparts which fronted the roadstead, and the

rising ground on which the fort is situated, were entirely covered with people. Having directed the sergeant to remain in the boat with all his company until I had spoken to the commandant, I myself landed. The Brother Pittet had recognized me with his glass, at a long distance, and hastened himself to give me his hand.

It was a very consoling spectacle, my Reverend Father, to see all Cayenne coming to meet me. In the streets through which I had passed, there was so great a crowd of people that I had difficulty in making my way. The rich as well as the poor, even all the slaves, pressed around to give me proofs of the pleasure which my restoration to freedom afforded them. Many bathed me with their tears when embracing me. I do not blush to say that I was myself overcome in recognizing such great demonstrations of friendship. A large crowd followed me even into the church, to which I first repaired to return thanks to God for the great blessings He had bestowed upon me, and for which I pray you, my Reverend Father, to give thanks also.

Our Fathers and our Brothers distinguished themselves on this occasion, and extended their charity, in my behalf, as far as it was possible to carry it. As all my clothes were in a pitiable state, they eagerly brought me every thing which was necessary. In this way I realized to the letter the truth of that declaration of our Lord: "*Quiconque quittera son père, sa mère, ses frères, pour l'amour de moi, recevra le centuple en ce monde.*" (Whosoever shall leave his father,

his mother, his brethren, for my sake, shall receive an hundred-fold in this world.)

We often talked together over the evils which might again happen to us, and I was always very much edified at seeing their holy emulation ; each one wishing to sacrifice himself to succor the wounded in case of an attack. But I thought that having already had some experience in this matter, and not being able to be again made prisoner during the continuance of this war, I should have the preference, and begin the service in discharging the duties of our ministry. We can, however, hope that neither the one nor the other will be obliged to come forward in this way, but that the victorious arms of the king will shortly bring about a solid and lasting peace. As soon as I had made my report and forwarded my letters to Monsieur d'Orvilliers, who was in retirement in his house on account of the death of Madame his wife, he gave orders that the five English who had come with me should be conducted, with their eyes bandaged, according to custom in such cases, to the guard-house, where they were to be confined ; after which, he made the necessary arrangements for sending them back to their ship, with the seven other prisoners whom I have already mentioned, all of whom he was very willing to free, in a great measure through consideration to myself. On the following day, the 28th, they departed during the night in their long-boat, with all the tackle and provisions necessary. We have reason to wish that they should arrive safe in port, because we have written by them to the Governor of Surinam ; and I

myself on my own account have done so, to endeavor, through his instrumentality, to recover what belonged to my church, on the conditions agreed upon with Captain Potter when we parted. But if I should not succeed in recovering these things, I flatter myself that you, my Reverend Father, would be entirely willing to supply this deficiency by sending me a complete church service, for every thing has been lost.

On my arrival at Cayenne, I had found there the officer who was at Oyapoc when it was taken, and who since then has returned thither with the chief surgeon and a party of soldiers. Since that time, the commandant himself has gone back with the rest of the detachment, to await the orders which the Court shall give with regard to Oyapoc. The fort which we have just lost was built in 1725, under the direction of M. d'Orvilliers, Governor of this colony, and had thus been in existence but nineteen years. We do not know whether the Court will think proper to re-establish it.

It was a great consolation to me to learn that our two missionaries, the Fathers d'Autillac and d'Huberlant, have returned each to his own post, after having entirely got over their fatigues before they went back. They had again much to suffer, until we were able to furnish them with assistance. They write me that the Indians, who had been at first exceedingly frightened, had begun to be reassured, and that they continued to render all the services in their power to the inhabitants who remained in that quarter awaiting the new order.

You see, my Reverend Father, a very long letter, and, perhaps, one a little too long. I should esteem myself happy if it is able to afford you any pleasure, for I had no other object in writing. I am, with respect, in the unity of your holy sacrifices, &c.

IX.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVES OF CAYENNE.

1751.

[OUR last article was the letter of Father Fauque, describing the destruction of the little missionary station of Oyapoc, in 1745. In the conclusion of it, he expresses his doubts whether the French Government will rebuild their ruined fort, and continue the settlement. It seems, from a letter written six years later, that his suspicion was correct, and Oyapoc was abandoned, as it is evident that Father Fauque remained at Cayenne.

We publish the translation of this letter, as containing a curious picture of what slavery was in that day in this French colony. It shows, too, the same traits of character of the simple-hearted Jesuit: striving after self-denial and availing himself of every opportunity to place himself in the way of a possible martyrdom.]

LETTER of *Father Fauque, of the Society of Jesus, to Father Allart, of the same Society.*

At CAYENNE, the 10th of May, 1751.

MY REVEREND FATHER, — *The peace of our Lord be with you!* The desire which you have expressed to learn from me any news of this country, which has reference to the salvation of souls, has induced me to send you to-day a brief relation of our enterprise of charity of which, some time ago, Providence furnished me the opportunity, and which resulted

equally to the glory of God and the welfare of this colony.

You know, my Reverend Father, that the principal wealth of the inhabitants of South America consists in their negro slaves, whom the ships of the company or the French merchantmen are accustomed to procure in Guinea, and transport direct to our islands. The trade is said to be very lucrative, since a full-grown man, who costs fifty crowns or two hundred livres at the Senegal, will here sell for from twelve to fifteen hundred livres.

It would be useless for me to tell you how the slave-trade is conducted in their country, what kind of merchandise they carry there for that purpose, or the precautions it is necessary to take to avoid the mortality and recklessness and revolts in these slave-ships; or what measures we and the other missionaries take to instruct these poor heathen when they arrive in our parishes. On all these points, and on many others of the same kind, an infinite number of narratives have been published, with which you are doubtless acquainted. But what has always impressed me, and to which I have not been able to become reconciled, even after a residence of twenty-four years in this country, is the manner in which the sale of these poor wretches is conducted.

As soon as the ship with which they are freighted arrives in port, the captain, after having taken the steps prescribed by the Ordinances of the King, both before the Admiralty and the Ministers of Justice, hires a large warehouse, where he lands his cargo.

Thither, as to a market, each one goes to choose the slaves who suit him ; and, at the price agreed upon, to take them home with him. How sad is it for a man of reason and susceptible of sentiment and reflection, to see his fellow-creatures sold in this way, like beasts of burden ! What have we done for God, such as we are, — I have more than once asked myself, — that we should not be subjected to the same fate as these poor wretches !

But the negroes, accustomed in their own country for the most part to enjoy their liberty, find it difficult to submit to the yoke of slavery, which is often rendered entirely insupportable to them. For they find masters (I mention this with shame) who are wanting towards them, not only in that consideration which religion enjoins, but even in the attention which humanity itself demands. Thus it happens that many run away, — what they term here, becoming *maroons*; and this is the more easy in Cayenne, as the country is, so to say, without boundaries, extremely mountainous, and in all parts covered with forests.

Desertions of this kind (or *maroonage*) do not fail, after a time, to produce an infinite amount of disorder. To prevent this our kings, in a code made expressly to regulate the slaves, have prescribed a particular punishment for each commission of this crime. The first time that a slave runs away, if his master has taken the precaution to lodge information at the court, and he is taken one month after the day of the notice, his ears are cut off, and he is branded on the back with the *fleur-de-lis*. If he repeats the offence, and

remains absent one month after he has been declared in Court, he is hamstrung. For the third offence he is hung. One could not but believe that the severity of this law would retain the greater number in their duty ; but there are always some of higher courage, who find no difficulty in risking life to enjoy liberty. As long as the number of these fugitives, or *maroons*, is not great, they cause but little uneasiness. But it becomes an evil when they come to unite in large numbers, because it then may result in most disastrous consequences. It is this which our neighbors, the Dutch at Surinam, have often experienced, and of which they are now having proof every day ; being, as they say, constantly threatened with a fatal irruption, so great is the number of runaway slaves in the woods.

To save Cayenne from a similar evil, Mons. d'Orvilliers, Governor of French Guiana, and Mons. le Moyne, our Intendant Commissary, were no sooner apprised that there were nearly seventy of these wretches assembled about ten or twelve leagues from here, than they sent in pursuit of them a large detachment of regular troops and militia. They arranged every thing so well, guided by their wisdom and common-sense, that the detachment, notwithstanding the detours it was obliged to make among almost inaccessible mountains, reached its destination safely.

But all the precautions and all the measures which this force was able to adopt, did not render the expedition very successful. There were only three or four maroons captured, of whom one was killed, because after being taken he endeavored to escape.

On the return of this detachment, the Governor, to whom the prisoners had given a detailed account of the number of the fugitives, their different settlements, and the measures they adopted to increase their number, was disposed to send a second detachment, when we thought that it would be in accordance with our ministry to offer ourselves to go and endeavor to bring back to the fold these wandering sheep. Many motives united in inducing us to undertake this good work. In the first place, we might save the life, both of body and soul, of all those who otherwise would be killed in the woods; for there is but little hope of the salvation of a negro who is put to death in his maroonage. Again, we might save the colony a great expense, and the troops a very severe fatigue. Besides all this, if we proved successful, we would be able to bring back to the workshops of the inhabitants a large number of slaves, whose absence caused trade to languish.

But however forcible these reasons might appear, they were not at first favorably received. This offer of mediation appeared too mild for these wretches, some of whom had been fugitives for more than twenty years, and were accused of great crimes. And besides, it was said, they will be able to believe that the French are afraid of them, since they send the missionaries to seek them. However, after two or three days of deliberation, our proposition was accepted, and Providence permitted the choice of the one who should make this journey to fall upon me.

Some friends I have here, who weighed this matter

in too worldly a manner, no sooner had knowledge of it than they used all their efforts to detain me. "Why do you go into the forest," some asked me "where you will certainly perish from fatigue or want?" "These miserable negroes," others said, "fearing that you wish to deceive them, will serve you an evil turn." Some again represented to me, that I might fall into some snare. For the negroes, in truth, are accustomed to excavate in the middle of the path deep ditches, which they covered most skilfully at the surface with leaves, so that no one could perceive the trap. But if he had the misfortune to fall into it, he impaled himself on the hard and pointed stakes with which these ditches are bristling. "You will lose your time and your pains," said those who were not sanguine as to the result. "You will certainly bring none of them back. They are too much accustomed to live at liberty ever to return and submit to slavery."

You can readily believe, my Reverend Father, that reasons of this kind could make but little impression on persons of our profession, who have abandoned home, parents, friends, and country, and who have encountered all the dangers of the sea, only to win souls to God; too happy if they are able to give their lives for the glory of their Great Master, who first sacrificed even His own self for us.

I set out, then, with four of the slaves of the House, and one free negro who had been with the detachment of which I have spoken above, and who was to serve as a guide. It was necessary for me to have this

number, to carry my sacred vessels and the food required for the journey. We went first by canoe as far as the straits of Tonne-Grande, which is one of the streams watering this country. At this place we passed the night. Early in the morning, I said there the Holy Mass, to implore the aid of Heaven, without which we could effect nothing. Immediately after this we entered the forests. Notwithstanding all the diligence we used, we could only accomplish that day about two-thirds of our intended journey. It became, therefore, necessary for us to camp out, after the manner of the country ; that is to say, that we should make at the moment, with the leaves of the palm, of which there are many kinds in this country, a little *ajoupa*, by which we mean a kind of shed which serves for a shelter from the injurious effects of the weather.

As soon as it was daylight, we resumed our route, and, between two and three hours after midday, we perceived the first settlement of the maroons, which they have named the Mountain *de Plomb* (of lead), because they find there a great quantity of little stones, black and round, which these wretches are accustomed to use in place of bullets for their guns. When I saw the smoke through the woods, I thought at first that those who were the object of my journey could not be far distant. But I was mistaken, in this conjecture. The smoke was from the remains of the fires kindled by the detachment which had preceded me ; their custom being, when in pursuit of fugitives of this kind, to burn all the houses or dwellings, and to make as much havoc as possible.

I then attempted to announce myself by repeated blasts on a kind of large shell, which has almost the form of a cone, and which they use here in place of a bell, to give the negroes the signal to rise, and to mark the hours of labor. But, finding that no one appeared, I went forward to examine the site, where I recognized the traces of two or three men, whose footsteps had been imprinted on the ashes. I comprehended that those whom I sought had not dared to appear there since they had been pursued. It became necessary for us, then, again to encamp, as we had done the preceding day; that is, to construct again our little *ajoupa* to pass the night.

It would be impossible, my Reverend Father, to narrate to you all that the fears of my attendants inspired them to represent to me. They expected that each moment we would draw upon ourselves the discharge of a musket or a flight of arrows. It was in vain that I endeavored to reassure them to the best of my ability; for they always answered that they knew better than I did the thorough malignity of the runaway negro. Nevertheless, Providence did not suffer us to encounter any disaster during that night; and, rising at the break of day, I proceeded again to sound my shell, which served me as a hunting-horn, and the notes of which, being exceedingly piercing, ought certainly to make it heard to a very great distance, besides being in the midst of valleys and mountains. At last, after having waited a long time, and walked about everywhere, as I did the day before, not seeing any one coming, I resolved to go to the place where

they had found the maroons a few days before, and where one of them had been killed.

I began by saying the Holy Mass, as I had done at Tonne-Grande, after which we entered the woods. I should judge that, from one abattis to the other, it could scarcely be two leagues ; at least, it took us only about two hours to make the journey. (They call an abattis here a space in the woods where the trees are cut down, and when they are dry they are burned, to enable them to plant the ground.) The maroons call this place the Abattis of the Straits, because there is a fall of water there. This site appeared to me much more grand and better situated than the first, which they named, as I have said, the Mountain de Plomb. It was here, also, that they raised their food, which consisted of the cassida-plant, bananas, potatoes, rice, ignames, pineapples, and some little sugar-cane.

As soon as we were within the borders of this cleared space, I announced myself by my usual signal, and immediately made a circuit entirely around it without seeing any one. All I remarked was that, only a few days before they had been gathering the magrives there, and that they had interred there the body of the one who had been killed. But the grave was so shallow that it emitted an intolerable stench. I approached, however, very near it, to say the prayer over the miserable remains ; in the hope that, if any of his companions saw me, this action might touch them and induce them to come to me. But all my attempts were vain ; and, after having passed the remainder of the day uselessly in this place, we returned to sleep at

the Mountain de Plomb, to save the labor of constructing a new abattis.

The night passed, like the previous one, without any disturbance, but not without fears on the part of my fellow-travellers. They were surprised that no one came out from the woods to show himself to us. As for myself, I did not know what to think. Nevertheless, as there remained still one abattis for me to visit, which they called the Abattis of Augustin, because one of the chiefs of the maroons, who bore that name, made his usual residence there with his band, I imagined that all the maroons might have taken refuge there, as being the most distant place. My difficulty was that my guide did not know the road. After a thorough search, we discovered a small footpath, which we took at a venture, and, after a walk of about four hours, always either climbing or descending the mountains, we arrived, at last, at the borders of an abattis. It cost us, however, great labor to effect an entrance into it, as its boundaries were blocked by great trunks of trees. However, we overcame this obstacle by climbing to the best of our ability, and the first objects which presented themselves to us were two huts. I ran to them, and found there a fire, a kettle, some meat just boiled, leaves of tobacco for smoking, and various other things of the same kind. I did not doubt, at the time, but that some one would come out of the woods to confer with me. After having, however, called thoroughly and walked everywhere, according to my custom, to do every thing to make myself known, not seeing any one appear, and having still much of

the day remaining, I wished to go still farther and endeavor finally to reach the settlement of Augustin, having always persuaded myself that those whom I sought had retired to that place.

The companions of my journey, not being animated by the religious motives which should control me, and always timid, were very desirous that we should return. They proposed it to me more than once; but I was not willing to leave my mission unfinished. I cannot deny, for I do not wish to conceal any thing from you, but that, in the bottom of my heart, I myself felt the influence of a certain fear. The total abandonment in which I found myself, the dread of those immense forests in which I was without any possible succor, and the profound silence which reigned there, — all this, as would naturally happen under such circumstances, in spite of myself, inspired me with gloomy thoughts. But I was careful to stifle these involuntary feelings, and I took care that nothing should appear which should add to the troubles of those who accompanied me. After having, therefore, made them take some refreshments, we again entered the woods, neither one nor the other knowing whither the path on which we had entered led.

The Divine Providence, which guarded and watched over us, permitted that, after having well climbed the mountains and valleys, we should at last reach our destination, having walked for only about two hours. My object, however, was not much more forwarded by this; for I only found a new abattis, which had been made similar to the one which I had left, but without

any person condescending to see us. From the fresh traces, however, which we saw, it seemed to us that, on that same day, they had been there digging the roots they use for food and gathering fruits.

What gave me the most concern was, that the maroons, imagining, perhaps, that there was always a detachment at their heels, had themselves set fire to their dwellings a few days before; with the object, without doubt, to prevent those in pursuit from occupying them. I could not doubt but that they saw me from the borders of the woods, but did not understand my object. Therefore, I shouted with all my force, that they could come to me with entire safety; that I had obtained their full pardon; that my profession forbade my aiding in the death of any one, whoever he might be, either directly or indirectly; that I had no guard to come and seek them, to deliver them to justice; and that, finally, I and my people were in their power, since we were but six in all, and unarmed, while they were a large number and armed.

“Remember, my dear children,” I said to them, “that, although you may be slaves, you are, nevertheless, Christians like your masters; that since your baptism you have professed the same religion with them; and from this you learn that those who do not live Christian lives, after their death go down to hell. What misery for you if, having been in slavery to men in this world and in time, you should become the slaves of the Devil through all eternity! This misery will certainly overtake you, if you do not return to your duty, since now you are in a constant state of

condemnation. For, without referring to the wrong you do your masters in depriving them of your labor, you do not hear the Mass on Holy Days, you never come to the Sacrament, you live in concubinage, not having been married by your rightful pastors. Come, then, to me, my dear friends ; come without fear. Have pity on your souls, which cost Jesus Christ so dearly. Give me the satisfaction of leading you all back to Cayenne. Make amends to me for the labors I have undergone on this occasion. Come and speak with me ; and, if you are not satisfied with the assurances of pardon which I shall give you, you can remain in your present abodes, since I cannot take you back by force."

At length, after having exhausted all that zeal and charity could suggest on such an occasion, not one of these miserable beings appearing, we went back to sleep in the huts we had left at the other abattis, partly to save the labor of constructing new quarters, and partly because the fresh traces we had seen there gave us reason to think that some of them might come there during the night. But no one showed himself ; so that, indignant at their obstinacy, towards four o'clock the next day we returned to the Mountain de Plomb. We remained there all Saturday, and there, on Sunday, I read the Holy Mass ; and as it was necessary for us to return, because our provisions had begun to fail, I wished, before departing, to leave an unequivocal monument of my journey, by erecting there a Cross of a kind of hard wood, and which still remains.

This Cross, as I shall show farther on in my narrative, was the means of rendering my enterprise successful. For, as soon as the negro maroons saw it, they came there to say their prayers; it being their custom, notwithstanding their reckless wickedness (what would be difficult to believe), to pray to God morning and evening. They even baptized the children which were born among them, and took great care to instruct them in the principles of their faith as far as they themselves knew them.

As soon as I had returned to Tonne-Grande, where I left my canoe, I informed Messieurs d'Orvilliers and Lemoine of the little success which had attended my undertaking. I informed them that I should remain for some time in this region, to administer the Sacrament at Easter to the negroes. I added, also, that having been placed, at the beginning of this journey, under the protection of the Guardian Angels, I had a secret presentiment that they would not permit me to return to Cayenne without gaining some information with regard to the prodigal children who had been its object. In fine, I prayed these gentlemen to assent to an extension, for some days, of the amnesty which they had at first granted them; and they had the kindness to extend it for an entire month.

After this answer, I began what they call here the Easter of the slaves in this region; that is to say, I went round to their different dwellings to confess those who were already baptized, and to instruct those who were still heathen. It is our custom to go thus, at least once a year, to the residences of all the colo-

nists who are our parishioners, however distant they may be, for there are parishes there twenty-five leagues in extent. And you can form no idea, my Reverend Father, of the good work there is to do there, and which is effected by excursions of this kind. The missionary to whom is entrusted this holy task restores peace to families which are divided, by reconciling their little differences ; he performs the Marriage Service, to put an end to their illicit connections, to which these slaves are much addicted ; he endeavors to mitigate the evils connected with their state, by causing them to look upon them in a religious light ; he makes an exact estimate of their actual amount of instruction, to prepare by degrees for the Communion those whom he judges to be fitted, our custom being to permit but few of the negroes to approach the Sacrament, from the experience we have had of their unworthiness. He points out prudently to the masters the faults they commit in the treatment of their slaves, — perhaps in not caring sufficiently for their religious conduct ; perhaps in requiring from them unjust labors ; perhaps in not giving them sufficient for their food and clothing, in violation of the wise ordinances of our kings. There are a thousand other things of this kind which fall within the province of the minister, and all of which tend equally to the glory of God and the salvation of souls. It subjects him to many trials, in truth, in making such rounds in a land like this ; for, when he is in the country, he is always either scorched by the rays of a blazing sun or deluged by violent rains. But to what will not a disinterested zeal carry

one, and what difficulties will it not be able to surmount!

Nevertheless, in accomplishing this good work as there was opportunity (for this is not my ordinary employment there), I was not forgetful of the first object of my journey. I took great pains to say to the negroes that, if they were able to see any of their companions among the maroons, they should assure them that, although they were not able to approach me in the woods, I had, nevertheless, again obtained a month's amnesty for them; but, if during this space of time they did not return, they had no further grace or pardon to expect; that they should be aware, on the contrary, that they would be pursued without ceasing, even to the utmost extremity.

At last, after having finished my mission, and made my round of visits to all the dwellings in the neighborhood of Tonne-Grande, I was just on the point of embarking in my canoe to return to Cayenne, a little ashamed, in truth, at having failed in my plan, before the eyes of men who ordinarily only judge of things by their success, when I saw coming towards me another small canoe, managed by two young negroes. They were bearers of a letter from the steward of Mount-Seneri, which is the name of a sugar plantation in this section, who informed me that the negro maroons had arrived at his house, and were inquiring for me with great solicitude. I flew thither with even more earnestness than they themselves exhibited, and found there, in truth, some twenty, who assured me that the others were on their way to give themselves

up to me. What a joyful surprise for me, my Reverend Father, to find my vows fulfilled when their accomplishment seemed to me most distant!

After having shed some tears of joy over these sheep, wandering for so long a time, and who had now returned to the fold, I gave them some reproaches for not having been willing to speak to me while I was in their midst. But they always answered that they thought there might be some detachment in ambush to seize them; but as soon as they saw the sign of our redemption set up on their ground, they were at length convinced that the time had come to obtain pardon, both for their souls and bodies. Whether this was the real motive which led them to act, or whether some of their comrades in the different settlements, whom I had prepared for Easter, had assured them of the sincerity of the pardon I had offered them, I have never been able to discover. But, however this may be, they came by degrees to the number of fifty; and as our Governor, who had a detachment all ready to march into the woods, if I had not succeeded, pressed me to return to Cayenne, I set out with these fifty fugitives.

It would be impossible, my Reverend Father, to picture to you the demonstrations of joy with which they received me, followed by my train, each one carrying some little baggage on his head or on his back. The streets were lined with people to see us pass. The masters congratulated each other on having recovered their slaves; and the negroes themselves, who belonged in the town, made it a festival at their

meeting once more, — one his father, another his mother, and this one his son or daughter. And as many of those whom I was conducting back had not been in the town for a long time, and their attention was much attracted by the changes, our progress was slow, that they might have an opportunity of satisfying their curiosity. At the same time, this allowed their comrades time to embrace them, while they made the air to resound with their cries of joy and thanksgiving. The most striking feature, however, was a troop of young people of both sexes, who had been born in the forests, and, never having seen any white person, or the house of a Frenchman, were never tired of observing them, while, according to their fashion, they manifested their admiration. I first conducted my little troop to the church, where there was a large congregation gathered, in consequence of its being the Festival of Saint Francis Xavier; but it was presently entirely packed by the crowd which followed us.

I began by causing these miserable beings to make a proper confession: first, to God, whose service they had abandoned for so long a time; secondly, to their masters and the colonists, upon many of whom they had inflicted great losses; and, thirdly, to their companions, for the evil example they had given them by their flight and by their thefts. After this, I said the Holy Mass, as a Service of Thanksgiving. They took part in it with the greater pleasure and devotion as many among them had not heard it for ten or twenty years. When it was ended, I presented them to the

Governor, who confirmed the pardon I had promised in his name, and then they returned to their respective masters.

Immediately afterwards, they sent out a strong detachment to make havoc in the plantations of those who remained, and to endeavor to capture or kill them. But a sickness which spread through the force as soon as it arrived in those places caused the expedition to fail. In consequence of this, those whom I had left, to the number only of seventeen, great and small, men and women, who had promised that they would shortly follow me, did not keep their word, and are still in the woods. They have been even joined by some others since that time. If the number increases to a certain point, it will be a great misfortune to the colony. But the wise measures which our magistrates take to prevent it, will probably save us from such disorders. I pray you, nevertheless, my Reverend Father, to unite your prayers with ours to obtain this grace from Heaven. I am, &c.

X.

TRIALS OF THE HUDSON BAY MISSIONARY.

1694.

[FROM the tropical forests of South America, we turn to the frozen regions of the North, — to the bleak shores of Hudson Bay, where no civilized man penetrates, except the fur-traders who deal with the Indians ; and there, too, we find the Jesuit. His letter gives us the record of his trials, when all his self-denial was rendered useless by the interference of national enmities. It is sad to think how far these penetrate, — that when hostilities commence in Europe, the influence extends even to the barbarous regions near the Pole, and break up the labors for the spiritual benefit of the poor savages who live in that almost perpetual winter.]

LETTER of *Father Gabriel Marest, Missionary of the Society of Jesus, to Father de Lambertville, of the same Society, Procurator of the Mission in Canada.*

MY REVEREND FATHER, — *The peace of our Lord be with you.* It is rather late to ask me the news from Hudson's Bay. I was much more in a condition to give it to you when I crossed over again into France, in returning from the prisons at Plymouth. All that I am now able to do, is to send you some extracts from a brief journal which I kept at that time, and of which I have preserved a copy. It begins with our departure

from Quebec, and is continued until the return of the ships which carried us to the Bay. It is perhaps, however, best that I should first make you acquainted with what I learned at Quebec, partly with respect to the first discovery of Hudson's Bay, and partly concerning some subsequent events of which I heard from two Jesuits who had made the same voyage before me.

It is now more than 200 years that navigators of different nations have been endeavoring to open a new route to China and Japan by the North; yet none of them have been able to succeed, for God has placed in their way an invincible obstacle in the mountains of ice with which those seas abound. It was with the same design that, in 1611, the famous Hudson, an Englishman, penetrated more than five hundred leagues beyond his predecessors, by the great Bay which to our day bears his name, and in which he passed the winter. In the spring of the following year he wished to continue his voyage; but his stores began to fail, and disease weakened his crew, so that he found himself obliged to return to England. Two years afterwards, he made a second attempt, and, in 1614, advanced as far as the 82nd degree. But he was so often in danger of perishing, and found such difficulty in returning, that since that time neither he nor any one else have dared to undertake to advance so far.

Nevertheless, the English merchants, to profit by the voyages and discoveries of their countrymen, have since made an establishment at Hudson's Bay. Their object was to conduct a trade in furs with the many

Southern Indians, who, during the heat of summer, come in their canoes down the rivers which empty into the Bay. At first, they only built some houses in which to pass the winter and await the arrival of the Indians. They suffered much there, and many of them died of scurvy. But as the furs which the savages brought to this Bay were remarkably fine, and the profits, of course, proportionably great, the English were not deterred by the variableness of the atmosphere or the severity of the climate. They were not, however, left in undisputed possession ; for the French in Canada wished also to establish themselves in the same way, and claimed that, as many of the neighboring countries were part of the same continent as New France, they had a right to trade to the 51st degree, and even much higher.

A misunderstanding, of course, grew up between the two nations ; each built some forts for the purpose of protecting itself from the insults of the other. But the frequent maladies and the continual dangers to which they were exposed, rendered the French unwilling to undertake these expeditions without having their chaplain with them. It was in this capacity, therefore, that Father Dalmas, a native of Tours, embarked for Hudson's Bay. Having arrived there, he offered to remain in the fort, as well to serve the French who were stationed there in garrison, as to have an opportunity of learning the language of the Morians, who brought thither their furs in the summer. He wished, in this way, to qualify himself at length to preach the Gospel among them. But the

ships which should have brought their provisions in the following year, having been always driven off by the violence of head-winds, the greater part of those who remained in the fort perished by famine or disease. At last, their number was reduced to eight individuals, five of whom having departed on a hunting expedition on the snow in the woods, there remained in the fort only Father Dalmas, the surgeon, and a tool-maker.

On their return, four or five days afterwards, they were very much surprised not to find either the Father or the surgeon. They, of course, demanded of the tool-maker what had become of them ; but the embarrassment with which he received them, the contradictory answers he gave, and some traces of blood which they perceived on the snow, induced them to seize the miserable man and place him in irons. Finding himself thus arrested, and being pressed also by remorse of conscience, he confessed that, having been long at variance with the surgeon, he had, one morning, murdered him, and then drawn his body to the river, where he thrust it through a hole he had made in the ice. Having immediately returned to the fort, he found the Father in the chapel preparing to say Mass. The unhappy man asked to speak with him ; but the Father put him off till after service, which he performed as usual.

Mass being ended, he confessed to the priest what had happened, declared the despair he felt, and his fear lest the others, on their return, should put him to death. “ It is not that which you have most to fear,” answered the Father, “ for we are a very small num-

ber, and they have too much need of your services to wish to put you to death. Should they show any intention of doing so, I promise you I will oppose it to the utmost of my power. But I expect you to confess before God the enormity of your crime, and to do penance for it. You have need to appease the anger of God, and I that of men." The Father added that, if he wished him to do so, he would go and meet those who were returning from the hunt, endeavor to soften them, and gain from them a promise that they would not harm him on their arrival. The tool-maker accepted the offer, appeared to be composed, and the Father departed. But scarcely had he left the fort, when this miserable man found himself troubled anew. Dark forebodings filled his mind, and he became possessed with the notion that the Father would deceive him, and had gone to find the others, only to prejudice them against him.

With this idea, he took his axe and gun to run after the Father. Perceiving him at a distance by the river, he called to him to wait, which the missionary did. As soon as he came up, he reproached him for being a traitor and intending to betray him, at the same time giving him a blow with his gun, which severely wounded him. To escape from the fury of this infatuated man, the Father threw himself upon a large cake of ice, which was floating in the water. The tool-maker sprang after him, and struck him down with two blows of his axe, which he inflicted on his head. After having cast his body under the same piece of ice on which the Father had taken

refuge, he returned to the fort, where the five others shortly arrived.

They had resolved to guard him in this manner until the arrival of the first ships, in which he could be sent back ; but, before assistance could arrive, the English attacked the fort. Those who guarded it had taken the precaution to keep all their cannons loaded, and were thus prepared to make a furious discharge upon their enemies whenever they made their approaches. This heavy fire, which wounded and killed many of their men, made them think there was yet a strong party in the fort ; and they therefore retreated, with the determination to come back with a greater force. They did, in fact, return, and prepared to attack the place in form. The five French, therefore, who garrisoned it, finding themselves not in a condition to resist, escaped by night through one of the embrasures of the cannon, and gained the woods, leaving the tool-maker alone, and bound as he was. They of course never knew what the English thought of it, or what account of himself he gave them. But, of the five persons who left the fort, three died on the road, and only two arrived, after great fatigues, at Montreal. It was from them that I received this account, which I have now given you.

The accident which had happened to Father Dalmas did not, however, deter Father Sylvie from returning, some time afterwards, to Hudson's Bay, to serve in the same capacity as chaplain. But, at the same time, he wished to open a way for preaching the Gospel to the savages farther south, who hitherto had been without

any instruction. He soon, however, found himself so disabled that he was under the necessity of embarking to return to Quebec, where he has never yet entirely recovered from the maladies he contracted at the Bay. On my arrival in Canada, I was destined to the same duty; which, I will not conceal from you, was contrary to my inclination. My design in leaving France was to devote myself, as far as possible, to the service of the Indians, from which, by this arrangement, I found myself still farther removed.

The late M. d'Iberville, one of the bravest captains we have had in New France, had received orders to make himself master of some posts which the English had occupied on Hudson's Bay. For this purpose, he had equipped two ships-of-war, the "Poli," on which he was about himself to embark, and the "Salamandre," commanded by M. de Serigny. Having requested from our Father Superior a missionary who might serve as chaplain to the two ships, the Superior selected me, apparently because, having lately arrived, and being as yet entirely unacquainted with any of the Indian languages, I was the least necessary in Canada.

We accordingly embarked, on the 10th of August, 1694, and, towards midnight, anchored opposite to Cape Torment.¹ We doubled it on the 11th, at seven or eight o'clock in the morning, but, in consequence of a head-wind, made but little during the remainder of

¹ This cape is only eight miles distant from Quebec. It is called *Torment*, because, with the least wind, the water is agitated as in the open sea.

that day, or the three following days. I therefore availed myself of this leisure to engage the greater part of the crew in celebrating the Festival of the Holy Virgin. On the 14th, I distributed in the "Poli" the images of Our Lady, which had been given me at Quebec by Madame Champigny, Lady of the Intendant of Canada, and passed all the evening and the next morning in hearing confessions. Many received the Communion on the day of the Festival. When I had finished the service of the Mass, the wind changed, and they set sail immediately. On the 20th, however, the wind having again entirely died away, I passed from the "Poli" to the "Salamandre," to see M. de Serigny, and to celebrate the Mass on board. The crew were very much delighted, and many availed themselves of this occasion to go to Confession and receive the Sacrament.

On the 21st we passed Belle-Isle. This island, which is circular in shape, is as high as fifty-two degrees north latitude, and distant two hundred and twenty leagues from Quebec, in the midst of a strait, which forms the island of Newfoundland (*Terre-Neuve*) by separating it from the mainland of Labrador. We began from this time to come in sight of the high mountains of ice which float in these seas, of which we saw, perhaps, one and twenty. They appeared at a distance like mountains of crystal, and some like rocks, with rough, bristling points.

On the 22d, we had in the morning a perfect calm; but, towards mid-day, a head-wind sprang up, and continued to blow very violently during the 24th and

25th. The two following days we had a return of the calm, which was equally prejudicial to us as the head-wind. The season was already far advanced, and we were in a region where winter came at once, without being preceded by autumn. We were at the height of fifty-six degrees, and much of our voyage remained to be accomplished, over a sea dangerous on account of the great banks of ice which are generally found there, but through the middle of which it was necessary that we should make our way as high as the sixty-third degree.

On the 28th, at eight o'clock in the evening, a light trade-wind, which came from the south, enabled us to advance well on our way, during the two or three days that it lasted. On the 31st, the wind changed a little, but, nevertheless, without ceasing to be favorable for us. It brought with it, however, a heavy fog, which prevented us from seeing the land, which we supposed to be not far distant, and to which we were, in fact, very near. In the middle of the day the weather cleared; and we saw, without difficulty, the coast, bordered with a great quantity of rocks, which they called "sugar-loaves" (*pains de sucre*), because they were of that shape. They were entirely covered with snow. In the evening we entered the strait through which we had to pass in going to Hudson's Bay.

This strait, which is called the Canal or Strait of the North, is very difficult of navigation, on account of the islands of ice which are continually forming in this cold climate, and through this passage discharge themselves into the open sea. The shores of the

strait run generally west-north-west and east-south-east. At both ends of it there are some islands, situated on the southern shore. Those which are found at the entrance of the strait—at the eastern end, towards Europe—are called the Bouton Islands. They are in latitude sixty degrees and some minutes. Those which are situated at the other extremity of the same strait are called the Dignes Islands. They are in about sixty-three degrees. Besides these, there are many others scattered through the strait, which is one hundred and thirty-five leagues in length. Its least breadth is seven or eight leagues, but it is generally much wider. We saw, from time to time, large bays, especially near the Bouton Islands. There is one in particular much larger than the rest, by which, they say, it is possible to go to the southern extremity of the Bay of Hudson; but this is very doubtful.

It often takes a long time to go through this strait; but we made the passage, very happily, in four days. We entered it at four o'clock in the morning of the 1st of September, and left it on the 5th, also in the morning, with a wind very favorable, but which increased very much on the 6th. On the 7th the weather was calm, which gave more than fifty persons an opportunity of receiving the Sacrament on the next day, which was the Festival of the Nativity of the Holy Virgin.

The calm continued on the 8th, the 9th, and the 10th, which caused much sadness and disquietude among all the crew. I therefore exhorted our Canadians to implore the protection of Saint Anne, whom

they regard as the patron saint of the country, and all honor with great devotion. My proposition was received with joy; and we engaged to make, during all that day, both morning and evening, our public prayers in honor of that saint. During the following night the wind became favorable.

On the 12th, we discovered the North land (*la terre du Nord*), but below the point we wished to make. The wind having again become contrary, we beat about during several days, without making any headway, and were at length obliged to cast anchor. We now began to suffer much, the cold increased, and the water was almost exhausted. In this extremity, our Canadians came to me with a proposal that they should make a vow to Saint Anne to consecrate to her honor the first gain they made in this country. I approved of their design, after communicating it to M. d'Iberville. At the same time, I exhorted them to strive after their own sanctification, since it was the purity of their lives which rendered their vows agreeable to God. The greater part profited by my advice, and came to Confession and received the Sacrament. The following day the sailors wished to follow the example of the Canadians, and make the same vow which they had done, while M. d'Iberville and the other officers took the lead in the movement. The following night, which was that of the 21st of September, God gave us a favorable wind.

On the 24th, at six o'clock in the evening, we entered the river Bourbon. The joy was great through the whole crew. It was on Friday, and we

chanted the hymn *Vexilla Regis*, and, above all, that of *O Crux ave*, which we repeated many times in honor of the adorable Cross of our Saviour, in a country where it was unknown to the Indians, and where it had been so often profaned by the heretics, who had thrown down with contempt all the crosses which we, the French, had in other times erected there.

The river, to which the French have given the name of Bourbon, is called by the English the river Pornetton, from whence it happens that many of the French still call the territories around, the country of Pornetton. The river is deep and broad, and extends far into the heart of the country; but, as it is filled with rapids, it is less convenient for the trade of the Indians. For this reason the English have not built their fort on its banks. At the south-east of the river Bourbon, and in the same bay, another river empties, equally great, which the first discoverers called the river of Saint Thérèse, because the wife of him who first saw it bore the name of that holy Saint.

These two rivers are only separated by a low tongue of land, which forms in both of them very extensive shallows. The mouths of these rivers are in latitude fifty-seven degrees and some minutes. They both run to the same point of the compass, and for a long distance their channels are not more than one or two leagues apart. The shallows with which they are filled render them dangerous to large vessels. But, as this difficulty exists to a less extent in the river

Bourbon, it was determined that the "Poli" should winter there, while the "Salamandre" was placed in the river Saint Thérèse, on the banks of which the English had built their fort on the tongue of land which separates the two rivers.

We arrived, as I said before, in the river Bourbon on the 24th, at six o'clock in the evening. The same night they sent a party of our people on shore to attempt to surprise some of the English. They found, however, much difficulty in landing on account of the shallows, and were obliged to cast themselves into the water, while the ice which lined the banks furnished an additional obstacle. Among those who were sent on shore was an Iroquois Indian, whom, on leaving Quebec, they had requested me to baptize. I had hitherto deferred this rite to allow time for his further instruction; but now, seeing the perils to which he was exposed, I did not think it right to defer it any longer. One of our Canadians, however, who spoke the Iroquois language, had been of great service to me in preparing him for that step. The people whom we had sent on shore were not able to surprise any of the English, because we had been seen the moment of our arrival, and they had all immediately retired within their works; but on the 25th they brought off two Indians, whom they had taken near the fort.

M. d'Iberville had been on the same day to sound the river, and look for a place where our vessel could be sheltered during the winter. We found one which was very commodious; and, after having visited those

whom he had caused to debark, and given his orders, he charged M. de Serigny with the care of taking the "Poli" round to the place assigned, and then, on the 27th, went himself on board of the "Salamandre," whither I followed him.

On the evening of the same day we arrived at the mouth of the river Saint Thérèse; nor did we fail, on entering it, to place ourselves under the protection of that holy saint. In the middle of the night, M. d'Iberville departed to sound this second river. On the 28th, we advanced up it a league and a half by means of the tide, the wind being ahead. The rest of the day was employed in sounding both shores. On the 29th, we again made a short league; and M. d'Iberville went on shore to mark out his camp, and the spot alongside of which he intended the ship to lay. He found one which he liked, about half a league below the fort. A large point of land, sufficiently high, extended into the river, and thus formed a kind of bay, in which the ship could be entirely sheltered from the drifting of the ice, which is to be very much feared in the Spring. Orders were accordingly issued for those of our people who had already landed to encamp in this place. They were not more than twenty in number; but the Indians of the country had reported to the English that they were more than forty or fifty, which intelligence had always deterred them from going out of the fort.

On the 30th, it was impossible for us to advance. The 1st of October found us still in the same state, the wind always ahead; and, as we ran aground at

each low tide, it was impossible to tack. The wind, too, and the cold and the ice, increased every day. We thus found ourselves only one league from the place where we ought to debark, but in danger of never reaching it. At length the crew began to be alarmed; but I exhorted them to trust to the protection of God, who had never yet deserted them in their voyage. On board the "Salamandre" they made the same run which had already been made in the "Poli;" and on that very day the wind changed and became favorable.

At eight o'clock in the evening we weighed anchor, the moon being very bright; and, favored by the tide, our boat, rowed by six oars, towed the ship, and conducted it even within gunshot of the place where we wished to go. We were still, however, not able to land there, for the tide left us. In passing the fort, they gave us three or four discharges from their cannon, but their bullets did not reach us. Our Canadians only answered them with the *sassa koues*, which is the name the Indians have bestowed on the peculiar cries they make in sign of rejoicing.

On the 2d, we thought our vessel would have been lost. As we got under way, in the hope of immediately making the port, which, so to speak, we were just touching, a great whirlwind of snow concealed the land from us, while a violent north-west wind threw us on a shallow, where we grounded at high tide. Here we passed a most dismal night. At six in the evening, the ice, brought down by the current and thrust on by the wind, commenced striking against

the ship, with a noise so frightful that it might have been heard at the distance of a league. The crashing continued four or five hours. The ice shocked the vessel so rudely that it pierced the wood, and stripped it off in many places to the breadth of three or four fingers. M. d'Iberville, to lighten the vessel, thought best to throw overboard on the shallow twelve pieces of cannon, and divers other things which the water could not destroy, and which would not be injured by remaining there. We afterwards made a covering on the sand for these pieces of cannon, for fear lest they should be dragged off in the spring by the drifting of the ice.

On the 3d, the wind having somewhat moderated, M. d'Iberville determined to commence discharging the ship, which was every moment in danger of being lost. We were unable to use the boat for this purpose, because it was not possible to manage it amongst the ice, which was constantly carried by in great quantities. We therefore employed bark canoes, which we had brought with us from Quebec, and which our Canadians guided through the midst of the ice with wonderful skill.

For some days afterwards I was unwell, and had at the same time a fever. M. d'Iberville pressed me to go on shore; but I could not make up my mind to quit the vessel in the peril in which it then was, and in the midst of the alarm in which I saw all the crew. I was constrained, however, to do so by the sad news which we shortly afterwards received. M. de Chateauguai, a young officer of nineteen years of age, and

the brother of M. d'Iberville, had gone to discharge his gun towards the English fort to occupy their attention, and prevent their having any knowledge of our embarrassments. Having, however, advanced too far, he was wounded by a ball, which passed through him from side to side. He sent for me to confess him, and I had myself, therefore, carried thither to the camp. We at first thought his wound was not mortal, but were very shortly undeceived, for he died the next day.

We had, just before this, received news of the "Poli," and learned that this ship was in no less danger than our own. The winds, the shallows, and the ice had all been obstacles in its way. At one time, while aground, it received a severe shock in its keel. Four pumps were not sufficient to discharge the water which flowed in, and many barrels of flour were wet in clearing the ship. It was not yet relieved, and there was danger of its never being able to reach the place where it ought to winter.

So much sad intelligence did not in any way damp the courage of M. d'Iberville. He was deeply touched by the death of his brother, whom he had always tenderly loved; but he made it a sacrifice to God, in whom he wished to place all his confidence. For, seeing that the least sign of inquietude which might appear on his countenance would throw all into consternation, he always sustained himself with wonderful firmness; giving everybody something to do, active himself, and sending forth his orders with the same presence of mind as ever. But on the same day God

consoled him. The very same tide placed both vessels out of danger, and conducted each one to the place which had been marked out for it.

On the 5th, I baptized two infant children of one of the Indians. They had been ill for a long time, and I now judged they were in danger. I was the more urgent to baptize them, because the next day the Indians were to depart, to spend the winter in the forests at a distance from us. But, before I baptized them, I obtained from the father a promise that, if they recovered, he would bring them back to me in the Spring to be instructed. They were both children of the same father, but of different mothers, polygamy being customary among the Indians in this country. One of the two afterwards died; and the father brought back the survivor to me in the following Spring, as he had promised. For some time afterwards we were busy in building huts for ourselves, in unloading the vessel, and in preparing for the siege.

On the 9th I departed, to return to the "Poli," where M. de Tilly, a lieutenant, had been dangerously ill for several days. It was the first journey I had made through an American forest. The ground over which we passed was very marshy, and we were obliged to take circuitous routes to avoid the swamps. The water had begun to freeze; but, the ice not yet being sufficiently strong to bear our weight, we often sank in half-way up the leg. We made thus five leagues on the snow and through the forests (if, indeed, we may use that word, for in this country they have no open woods). The trees are mingled in

some places with thickets and brambles, and then again in others they are interspersed with clear savannas.

When at length we reached the banks of the river Bourbon, we found ourselves very much embarrassed. The ship was on the other side, and the river in this place a league and a half wide, very rapid, and at that time filled with floating ice. Those who had accompanied me judged the passage impracticable, and I had some difficulty in overcoming their opposition. But, a little while after, the river became clear, the ice having drifted away with the falling of the tide. We therefore embarked immediately, after having carried our canoe over the ice which had formed along the banks of the river. We set out at sunset, and arrived in safety at the beginning of the night.

We found the ship in a safe and commodious place, and the crew beginning to recover from their past fatigues. I saw the sick man to whom I administered the consolations of our faith; receiving his confession the next day, and giving him the Sacrament. After dinner, I went to visit our Canadians and sailors, who had established themselves in huts on shore. On my return, they informed me that the passage of the river was again practicable; and I immediately embarked, as I had promised to return without delay, on account of the expected attack on the fort. Reaching the other side very late, we put up a hut in which to pass the night. We had built it with much carelessness, as we trusted to the clearness of the sky,—an oversight of which we had cause afterwards to repent, as we

were, during three hours, exposed to a heavy fall of snow.

On the 11th we reached our camp, where every thing was in readiness for the siege. They had made through the woods an excellent road on which to transport their cannon, the mortars and bombs. On the 12th, they fixed their mortars; and on the 13th, as they were ready to open on the fort, they sent to summon the enemy to capitulate, offering them favorable terms if they would surrender immediately. They asked until eight o'clock the next morning to give their answer, and requested that we would not disturb them during the night about the fort. This was accordingly granted them. The next morning, at the hour appointed, they brought forward their conditions, which were at once assented to, for they did not even demand to retain their arms or tents. Their chaplain had given the terms of capitulation in Latin, and I acted as interpreter on our side. The English had been seized with fear on our first arrival, and from that time had kept themselves entirely shut up, without even daring to go out at night to procure water from the river, which flowed at the base of the fort.

The same day, M. d'Iberville sent his lieutenant, M. du Tas, to take possession. He went thither himself on the morrow, — the Festival of St. Thérèse, — and named it Fort Bourbon. The same day, I celebrated the mass there, and chanted the *Te Deum*. The fort was only of wood, both smaller and weaker than we had supposed; and the booty we gained was also much less than we had hoped for. The English

were fifty-three in number, all large men, and well made ; but those who commanded them were much more skilful in commerce than in the profession of arms, in which they had never been exercised. It was for this reason that they surrendered so easily. In all these things, we could not but admire the wonderful arrangement of Divine Providence. On entering the river of St. Thérèse, we had with confidence invoked the protection of the holy Saint whose name the river bore ; and God arranged every thing in such a manner that, on the very day of the Festival of the same Saint, we should obtain possession of the fort, which renders us masters of the navigation, and all the commerce, of the great river.

The same day, I thought it well to return on a visit to M. de Tilly, whom I had left very ill. I set out, therefore, after dinner, and reached the banks of the river Bourbon, but found the crossing absolutely impracticable. We therefore erected our hut, and spent the whole night there. The next day, the river being no better, we made on the banks fires, which sent up high columns of smoke, this being the signal agreed on to announce the capture of the fort. They replied by similar signals, and we returned to the fort. Three days afterwards, — that is to say, on the 18th of October, — I joined M. de Caumont, a brother of M. de Tilly, and two other persons, their relatives, together with a Canadian, in an attempt to pass over together to the “Poli.” We again found the river in a very bad state, and the next day it was no better. Nevertheless, we determined to risk the passage,

which was not accomplished without great danger, but at last we arrived safely. I did not again leave the sick man until the 28th, which was the day of his death. After the funeral services were over, I wished to return to the fort to celebrate the Festival of All-Saints, but was unable to pass the river until All-Souls Day.¹ We lost our way that night in the woods, and, after wandering for a long time, found ourselves in the place from which we set out. There we passed the night, and reached the fort on the 3d of November. I have since often made these little journeys; for disease, and particularly the scurvy, having spread among our crew, I was constantly obliged to go from the fort to the "Poli," and from the "Poli" to the fort, to assist the sick. I had myself some slight attacks of the scurvy; but the exercise I was obliged to take, in aiding here and there those who were in some danger, dissipated what I believe to have been the commencement of the malady.

At the beginning of October, the river St. Thérèse was entirely closed by ice, three or four leagues above the fort, where there are some islands, which render the channel very narrow; but we did not begin passing over on it, opposite to the fort, until the 13th of November. The river Bourbon was not entirely closed until the night of Jan. 23, 1695. After this, we were able to pass over to the "Poli" on the ice, which very much shortened our journey. The ice commenced breaking up in the river St. Thérèse on the 30th of

¹ In the Roman calendar, All-Saints Day is Nov. 1; and All-Souls Day, the day after, Nov. 2. — TRANS.

May, but, in the river Bourbon, not until the 11th of June. On the 30th of July, we embarked to go with one or two ships to the roadstead at the mouth of the river St. Thérèse, to await the arrival of the English ships, which are accustomed to come there at that season. However, we waited for them in vain, for none ever appeared.

I had undertaken, on my arrival, to learn the language of the Indians, and for this purpose wished to avail myself of the services of two of them, who had remained during the winter in a hut near the fort. But my frequent excursions from one river to the other were a great hindrance, besides which the man was a slave from another nation, and only imperfectly knew their language ; while his wife, who had a thorough hatred of the French, never spoke to me except in waywardness, and often purposely deceived me. Nevertheless, the visits which I made them had one good effect : I had gained the confidence of this poor man, and began to instruct him as far as was in my power, when he fell sick. He then wished for baptism, which I had the satisfaction of administering to him before his death.

With regard to the religion they profess, it is, I believe, the same as that of other Indians ; but I am not as yet sufficiently acquainted with it to speak definitely of the nature of their idolatry. I know that they have some kind of sacrifices ; they have grand jugglers, and, like other Indians, a custom of the pipe, which they call *calumet*. They are accustomed to smoke with regard to the sun and absent persons,

and sometimes with reference to our fort and our ship. Nevertheless, I am able to say nothing certain with regard to their ideas of the Divinity, not having been able to comprehend them. I can only add that they are extremely superstitious, very depraved; that they live in the practice of polygamy, and in an estrangement as great as possible from any thing like Christianity.

Thus you perceive, my Reverend Father, that it will be very difficult to establish our faith among this people. I think that, if we wish to make any progress, it will be necessary to commence with the Krigs and the Assiniboels. Besides other considerations, these Indians are very numerous. They seem to me not so far removed as the rest from all ideas of religion; they have more spirit, and are settled during at least three or four months of the year. It would, therefore, be more easy to form a mission in their country. I am, indeed, truly sensible of the difficulties in the way of its establishment. In truth, I doubt whether our first Fathers, in their earliest missions in Canada, encountered as many as seem here to threaten. But we must not be deterred by these things. God will take care of us; and I trust that the more of pain and toil these missions seem to promise, so much the more will missionaries be found who will offer themselves to God to be his messengers there.

I do not as yet speak the language of the Indians very well; but nevertheless none of them have come to the fort to whom I have not spoken of God. I

have an inward pleasure in declaring to these poor people what they have never before heard announced. Many have heard me willingly ; and they have thus learned, at least, that I have come among them with a different object from the rest of the French. I have told them that I came to their country to make them acquainted with the God whom I worshipped, and they seemed to receive the declaration with joy, and invited me to visit them. I find much greater difficulty in understanding the Indians than in speaking to them ; for I am already, indeed, acquainted with the greater part of their words. M. de la Motte has been of great assistance to me ; and an Englishman, who knows the language very well, has aided me still more. I have made a dictionary of all their words, arranged alphabetically ; and, considering how little I have been with the Indians, I think that I begin to speak easily, and to understand their language. I have translated directions for making the sign of the cross, the *Pater*, the *Ave*, the *Credo*, and the Commandments of God. I have baptized only two adults among the Indians, who both died shortly afterwards. I have also baptized three infants, two of whom have since been taken to heaven. If I had been able to mix more with the Indians, I should have effected more.

In the beginning of September, 1695, our two ships departed on their return. As it seemed probable that they would go direct to France, I preferred remaining in the fort with the forty-five men whom they left there in garrison, and who otherwise would have had

no chaplain. I was persuaded, too, that, having more leisure after the departure of the ships, I should be able to learn the language of the Indians perfectly, and thus qualify myself to begin a mission. God, however, did not judge me to be worthy: the English came to besiege us, and we were taken prisoners. I have already told you, on my return to France, the story, with the history of our imprisonment. It would therefore be useless to repeat it here. I am, &c.

XI.

EXPLORATIONS IN THE DELTA.

1712.

[AT the beginning of the last century, the Abbé Sicard was one of the most distinguished antiquarians and scholars in Europe. Cairo being the scene of his mission, he devoted himself particularly to investigations relating to the monuments and past history of Egypt. Several of his expeditions were undertaken by direction of the royal family of France. Such was the one the narrative of which we have translated, — his explorations among the mouldering relics of the old monasteries of the Delta.

An earnest member of the Church of Rome, he never lost an opportunity, as will be seen by his narrative, to inculcate his doctrines on the heretical Copts, in the attempt to win them back to the fold.

The Abbé died in 1726, aged 49 years, leaving behind him the results of extensive studies among the ruins of Egypt, particularly labored investigations with regard to the passage of the Israelites over the Red Sea. As a matter of Biblical inquiry, his essays on this point probably exhaust the subject.]

LETTER *of Father Sicard, Missionary in Egypt, to his Royal Highness, the Count of Toulouse.*

MONSEIGNEUR, — We learn with much pleasure and gratitude that your Serene Highness has the goodness to take an interest in all that has occurred

in these Missions, which our Society has established for more than a century in the different countries of the Levant.

As nothing is more necessary for a missionary in Egypt than to be well acquainted with the views of the Copts, in order to refute them, and to know their habits, to correct them, after having been a long time engaged in the Mission with those who are living in Cairo, I have thought it proper to visit the Copts in the country, to become better acquainted with all that concerns them, and by this means to win their confidence and labor more effectually for their instruction and conversion.

To carry out my plan, I embarked on the Nile at Boulacq, on the 5th of December, 1712, at one o'clock in the afternoon, accompanied by a Coptic monk, the priest and Superior of St. Macarius. At midnight we arrived at Oüardan, a little village on the western bank of the branch of the Nile which flows down to Rosetta. Not finding there any house of Christians in which we could be received, we were obliged to pass the rest of the night in a public place, exposed to the air, which was exceedingly cold. We left this miserable resting-place at break of day, to go to Etris, another village, half a league distant from Oüardan. There we found a Hospice intended for the hermits of the Desert, which is in its vicinity.

The night following, after all the shepherds and husbandmen had retired to their homes, I assembled, by the light of the moon, all the Coptic men and children, to give them some instruction. I found these

good people, famishing for the word of God, because they heard it so rarely. Their Patriarch, it is true, has sent them members of the religious orders to be their Curés, but these pastors were of the number of whom Ezekiel speaks, who took great care of themselves, but did not feed the flock.¹

I wished to begin my catechising by causing them to recite the *Pater* to the children, but it was with difficulty I could find any one who knew it, still less who was able to give instruction on the principles of our religion. In vain I questioned the greater part. The fathers and mothers were equally ignorant with their children. Most of them had lived, even to that day, without having approached the Sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist. I spent all the time that I was able to be with them in reciting the Lord's Prayer, in their language, in a loud voice. All repeated it after me, and I caused them to do so until they knew it by heart. I then explained to them the principal articles of our belief. They heard me with the greatest docility, and I charged those among them who were best instructed to repeat in their homes what I had taught them.

After my instruction, many among them requested me to receive their confession, which they made with feelings which afforded me true consolation, and which induced me to promise them fuller instructions on my return.

The next day, December 7th, I left Etris with the Superior of St. Macarius and a monk of the same

¹ Ezekiel xxxiv. 8.

monastery, who had come to make collections at Cairo and in the neighboring villages. The good monk was well contented with his contributions, for he carried back to the monastery ten asses loaded with provisions of wheat, rice, lentils, beans, salt fish, wax, and incense.

After having travelled with them for one hour through a rich and pleasant country, leaving the Nile at the east, we came to the borders of the sands of the Desert of Sceté. This desert, of which Palladius and Xufin have given a description, is famous through the journeys which the Saints Paul and Melanius made thither, and through more than five thousand hermits, who inhabited it, among whom were the holy men Ammon, Arsenius, Moses the Black, Effrem, Appollo-nius, Pambon, Serapion, Poëmene, Daniel, and John the Little. At that time one could count more than a hundred monasteries in this desert. At this day there remain but the four of which I will speak.

The desert extends from east to west about three days' journey, and the same distance from north to south. It is a vast expanse of sand, which at the west and south has no other boundary than the sands of Libya and of the Desert of Barca. On the northern side it borders on the Mountains of Nitria, which were formerly inhabited by a countless number of hermits.

Leaving Etris before sunrise, we arrived, a little after sunset, at the first of the four monasteries of which I have spoken. This bears the name of the old Macarius; the second is called Notre-Dame of the Suriens; the third is the Monastery of Saint Bichoi,

or Abisay ; and the fourth is dedicated to the Holy Virgin of Elbaramous, or of the Greeks.

The first monastery is distant from the Nile one day's journey ; the second is one and a half days' journey from the first ; the third is but the distance of two gunshots from the second ; and the fourth, leaving the Nile and advancing towards the west, is a half day's journey from the second and the third, and twenty-five or thirty leagues from the Mediterranean Sea and Alexandria, towards the north.

These four monasteries have all large square enclosures, very much alike, more than a hundred paces in length, and a little less in breadth, surrounded by high thick walls, with a parapet breast-high. Each monastery has a tower, higher by one half than the walls of the enclosure. In each tower there is a chapel dedicated to Saint Michel, many chambers full of provisions, a library which contains three or four chests full of old Arabic and Coptic manuscripts covered with dust, a well of good water, a mill, an oven, and a drawbridge. The door of each monastery is of wood, low, thick, covered with plates of iron, and commanded by the tower. In each monastery we see the ruins of two or three churches, of many dormitories, and of a very great number of cells, some of which still remain with the offices. The tower serves for donjon and place of retreat for the poor monks in an irruption of the Arabs, who cannot penetrate into the tower as easily as they might procure admission by force or stratagem into the lower part of the enclosure of the monastery.

The Monastery of Saint Macarius, to which I am referring, is inhabited by one monk, who is a priest, who accompanied me, and whose particular duty was frequently to go out and make collections; one porter, also a monk; and two lay deacons. These constitute the whole community of this once famous monastery.

The Monastic Fraternity of Saint Bichoi is only composed of four monks, while the two others have from twelve to fifteen. All are not priests, and there are even among them some laymen, whom they have admitted there by order of the Coptic Patriarch. Their food and their habits are conformed to those of the people of the country. They say Mass on every Sunday, and on every Wednesday and Friday of the four fasts of the year. They spend many hours of the day and the night in the choir; during others they work, and all in obedience to one Superior, who is a priest. The order of the Superior, under whose direction they are, is their principal rule.

I was very much edified in seeing these solitaries, every evening after their service, and before they returned to their cells, prostrate themselves at the feet of their Superior to confess their faults, to ask absolution of him, and to receive his blessing. We may well acknowledge that these monks are good people, even with their heresy. They are Copts; that is to say, disciples of Dioscorus, who was condemned by the Fourth General Council.¹

¹ Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria, was one of the most zealous adherents of Eutychus. He held, with him, that there was but one nature in Jesus Christ, and caused this heresy to be approved in the Council, which was called "the Assembly of Robbers."

This Monastery of Saint Macarius encloses two churches, — one small, and in good preservation, dedicated to Saint Macarius, who gives the name to the monastery and to the whole desert ; the other, which is much larger and half ruined, is dedicated to Saint John. There still remain five domes, of the Gothic order, sustained by twenty-one columns of marble, and five altars. These two churches, like all others of the Copts, have behind their sacristies an oven, made expressly to bake the bread destined for the Sacrifice ; for it is an inviolable custom among these people to use no bread but what is leavened and perfectly fresh. When their priests are about to say Mass, they bake the same day a basket full of little loaves, white, round, flat on the top and convex at the bottom, and as large as the palm of the hand. One only of these loaves is destined for the altar ; and the others are distributed, after the Mass, among the monks and principal assistants.

The Copts have another custom among them, which is to have in all their churches a large cistern, square and deep, which they fill with water every year, to use in the ceremony of the famous bath which they call Gothas. I saw, indeed, these two large cisterns in the two churches to which I am referring. In that of Saint John the Baptist, they pointed out to my notice a chapel by the name of Saint Apollinaire, daughter of Anthemius, consul in the reign of Arcadius, who made, it is said, her profession in this monastery, disguised as a man. Bollandus writes the history of it, in the Callender, under the date of January 5th. The

Copts believe she was the daughter of the Emperor Zeno; but they are mistaken in this matter, as they are in many others.

In the choir of the Church of St. Macarius they showed me four little coffins, in which repose, say the Copts, the bones of Saint Macarius and of Saint John the Little. One of these Macariuses is the one of Egypt, surnamed the Old, the disciple of Saint Anthony, and the author of fifty homilies in Greek; the other is the one from Alexandria, surnamed the Young. These two, of the name of Macarius, have been monks, or abbots, one after the other, in these monasteries of the desert. Palladius relates of the first, that, a man being falsely accused of having assassinated another, the Holy Anchorite restored the dead to life, to enable him to declare which was his assassin, and thus justify the innocent.

The same Palladius, who had lived for some time with these two holy hermits, declares that he had been eye-witness of their power in prayer, their rigorous penitence, and their charity to strangers. He relates particularly the wonderful conversions which God had effected through their agency.

He relates, among other things, that these two holy men, having gone to visit some of their brethren, were received into a boat on the Nile, on which were many officers of rank, with their equipages; that one of these officers, seeing them sitting in a corner of the boat, and dressed in mean clothing, said to them, "You are very happy, my friends, to enjoy yourselves thus in a world of which you have no need." And

the two holy hermits replied to him, "You are right, sir ; but at the same time our great complaint of you is, that the world enjoys so much of you." Palladius adds, that this word was an arrow which pierced the heart of the officer, who, immediately on his return home, distributed his property to the poor, and went to pass the rest of his days in the Desert of Nitria, where he died in sanctity.

The Church has enrolled these two distinguished servants of God in the number of its saints. With regard to him who is called the Third Macarius, and whom they state to have been a Bishop, we have every reason to believe that he was one of the associates or one of the disciples of Dioscorus. Perhaps he was that monothelite Patriarch of Alexandria, deposed by the Sixth General Council, and not that holy Bishop of Jerusalem who assisted at the Council of Nice. It is certain, however, that it is never well to rely much on the opinions of the Copts, and still less on their relics, which are in the care of those who are heretical and ignorant.

I left the Monastery of Saint Macarius at nine o'clock in the morning, with the Superior, who from friendship continued to accompany me. Scarcely had we gone two hundred paces beyond the gate, than I found myself among the ruins of many edifices, the foundations of which, and the portions of the wall still remaining, showed their plan and former greatness. I asked of my companion an explanation of what I saw. "I am going to give it to you," said he. "Formerly, in this Desert of Scté, and on the Mountain

of Nitria, which you see bounding the horizon on the northern side, one could have counted as many monasteries as there are days in the year. These different ruins are some remains of them; and those which are under your feet bear, even to the present time, the name of the Castle of the Virgins, because it was there that some persons of that sex lived who had embraced the monastic life." When I showed my surprise at the multitude of dwellings of the monks, he added, "Let us continue our journey, and you will see many other things." In fact, after having travelled about three or four hours, we had a view of more than fifty monasteries, entirely distinct the one from the other, but ruined and almost fallen down. "These," he continued, "are only a part of the ruins of a very great number of monuments which the piety of the faithful had erected in these retreats of penitence. Look at that tree, called the 'Tree of Obedience,' which for twelve centuries has survived the influence of the seasons and the attacks of beasts and Arabs. It was originally only a dry stick, driven into the barren and burning sand by the Abbé Poëmen. He one day directed the celebrated John the Little to water it every day. The obedient monk during two years followed the direction of his Superior. God, to recompense the persevering obedience of His servant, permitted this stick to take root and throw out branches and leaves as beautiful as those you see. It is in memory of this miracle that the tree bears the name of the Virtue of Obedience." I admired the tree, loaded in fact with beautiful leaves, and which every year bore a great abundance of fruit.

We travelled in the same way over the Road of the Angels. This is the name the Christians have given to a long road having little heaps of stones, distant but a single step from each other, stretching from the south to the north for a space of many days' journey. This work, which they ascribe to the agency of Heavenly Spirits, but which might have been made by the hand of man, formerly served to guide the steps of the anchorites, when they went from their caves to the churches, or returned again to their cells. It was necessary, because the drifting sand of these vast plains does not allow any footpath or trace to be distinguished. It is true there are from time to time little hills or eminences which might, it would seem, serve as a guide to the traveller ; but their similarity makes them easily mistaken.

My companion drew my attention to one of these hillocks, at the foot of which we were passing. " See," said he, " the column of the devils. They call it so, because there the enemies of the hermits placed themselves in ambush to insult the servants of God, and to endeavor to mislead them." This remark showed me the conformity of tradition to the history which we have of these anchorites.

A little after mid-day we reached the Monastery of Notre-Dame of the Suriens. This monastery is the finest of the four. It has a very pleasant garden, and a draw-well which waters it, a great number of trees of different kinds, the tamarisk¹ and date trees, and a large and ancient tamarind, which they say took root from a dry stick planted by Saint Ephraim.

¹ This is the only tree of this kind that I have seen in Egypt.

There are in this monastery three churches, still in good preservation. The first is dedicated to the Holy Virgin, the protectress of the Suriens. The second church bears the name of Saint Anthony, and the third of their patron saint, Victor the Martyr.

The Superior of the Monastery, having been notified of our arrival, came to receive us with great demonstrations of friendship. He first conducted us to the Church of the Holy Virgin, to perform our devotions. It having struck twelve, the monks, as well as ourselves, were still fasting. They were then in the Fast which precedes Christmas. During this Fast, as well as in the others, of the Apostles, and of the Holy Virgin, and of that which precedes the Festival of Easter, they neither eat nor drink any thing until afternoon, except on Saturdays and Sundays, when they are allowed to take some nourishment in the morning. I thought it necessary to conform entirely to their manner of living, for the purpose of gaining their confidence and attachment. This I did, and found the benefit of it; for the conformity of my life to theirs dissipated that natural distrust which the monks and strange priests entertain, and by degrees I found myself enabled to speak with them on all their spiritual needs, as soon as I learned them.

Our prayers having been finished, they conducted me to the Refectory. The *Benedicite* having been said, they served to us a large bowl filled with soup, made from lentils, stuffed with bread. This single dish comprised all our meal. While we were at table, there was a reading, which was composed of a little

collection of monastic rules, which they pretended were given by the Holy Virgin to Saint Macarius the Younger. The meal being finished, we said the *Pater* in Coptic. This prayer alone is their *Benedicite* and their ordinary grace. All having left the Refectory, those who were thirsty went to drink from the bucket of one of the neighboring wells.

I saw in their kitchen three large stone pots, which are all the cooking utensils they have. They answer the purpose very well, and last for ages. This kind of stone is called *baram*, and is common in Upper Egypt.

Since we are speaking of the grand meals of these good monks, I will add, that, in the evening, they served up as a collation for us a little plate of wild marjoram pounded up, and another of the skins of sugar-cane, which was very insipid. They gave also sometimes, to vary their collation, onions, cut up or steeped in salt water. The odor of this is detestable to those not accustomed to it. They never drink wine, and rarely coffee. They lie down entirely clothed, their bed being formed of the mats spread on the floor. We must acknowledge that the life of these good monks is very frugal and austere; but the remarkable fact is that they are strong and robust, large and fat, and full of health. In thinking of the austerity of their life, I could not but deplore their misfortune in being born in schism and heresy, in which they are passing their lives. At the same time I compare their hard and mortified manner of life with that of a great number of Catholics, who, so thoroughly en-

lightened that they are the luminaries of the faith, nevertheless pass their lives in continual softness, so contrary to the spirit of the Gospel, which is our only rule of action. I do not know which is the greatest evil, that of those or of these.

Our solitaries divide the day between Psalmody and working with their hands. They seldom go beyond the bounds of their monasteries. Those whose employment obliges them to do so, have to use the greatest precautions to avoid falling into the hands of the wandering Arabs.

These Arabs are a wild race, whose avowed business is stealing and pillaging wherever they go, showing no respect to any one. When these bandits pass the monastery, they knock at the door, which the inmates take care not to open; but they send down to them by the pulley some soup of bread and onions, with water to drink, and, after having ate and drunk, they go away contented.

On this occasion, I will mention that, during my journey, I met with two troops of these land-pirates. Each one had an ass laden with their booty. Their chief, seeing nothing in my worn-out dress which could gratify his avarice, was only dazzled by the brilliancy of my red shoes, which had cost twelve sous, and are the ordinary shoes of the country clergy. He civilly asked me for them. I refused them to him in the same manner, and there the matter rested. Another one asked me for money. "I have none," I said to him. "Give me at least," he replied, "some good ointment for a wound which gives me a great

deal of trouble." This I willingly gave him ; whereupon all the company, thinking I must be an able physician, explained to me, each one particularly, their complaints, and asked for remedies. I gave them the benefit of all my knowledge, and it was not difficult for me to heal them. But, after this, I said to them that they had one malady much more dangerous, for which they did not think to ask of me a cure ; that this malady was the evil disposition which led them to steal, to pillage on all sides, and commit many other crimes which rendered them odious to God and man. These crimes, I told them, would cause them some day to be condemned by their Creator to eternal fire, which would burn in hell their souls and bodies through all eternity. They listened to me more attentively than I had reason to expect, which gave me an opportunity to exhort them to change their lives, assuring them that divine Providence would provide their support. After this exhortation, we parted from our good friends. God grant that the words which He then put in my mouth may have had some good effect !

I will return now to our monastery, which this digression has caused me to leave. The ignorance which retained these solitaries in their schism and heresy, and which caused them to lose in the sight of Heaven the merit of the austerity of their lives, pierced me to the heart. The hours of the day and night in which they were free, I employed in speaking to them of the kingdom of God, adapting my discourse to their taste and their capacity. I told them, among other

things, that it would be a great benefit to them to correct the false idea they had of the Franks ; that, although myself a Frank, I was no less a Copt, since that name signified a disciple of the blessed Athanasius and Cyril, servants of Jesus Christ, and reverential children of the Holy Church, His Spouse. I asked them then whether they did not admit this idea and signification of the name of Copt which they bore. They having responded in the affirmative, I added that I was then a true Copt, and more of a Copt than they ; that it did not become them to claim to be disciples of Fathers of the Church, whose works they had never read ; that the true doctrines of these Fathers had been altered by their false prophets ; that these false teachers had taught them errors, as being the true doctrines of the Fathers ; that they had trusted blindly in their words, without examining whether these new doctors were not, as the parable in the Gospel said, the enemies of man, who came to sow tares among the good grain. I continued my discourse by telling them that, touched by their misfortunes, of which they were themselves unconscious, I had hastened to their succor, as a good brother.

After this little exhortation, they all replied to me with joy painted on their countenances, and with gestures of the head and hands, signifying that I was most welcome. I then drew from my pocket my Arabic Gospel, and, having placed it, according to custom and to show respect, on my head and to my lips, I presented it to them, as if my intention had been that they should exhibit to this Holy Book the

same marks of their veneration. They, in fact, held out their hands to take it and kiss it ; but I suddenly drew it back and concealed it in my bosom, reproaching them that they were unworthy to touch so holy a volume, which contained the word of God, and which they, nevertheless, trod under their feet, by violating, as they did, the divine precepts contained in it. "But know," I said to them, in conclusion, "that the finger of God has graven in this Book the eternal sentence of your death."

At these words, which impressed them, they all cried out, "Are we, then, rebels against the Gospel?" Then I drew the Holy Book from my bosom, and, opening it at the page I had prepared, I said to them, "Listen and see. Is it not thus written, 'Judge not, and ye shall not be judged' ? By what criminal boldness, then, do you dare, for so many ages, you and your fathers, to pronounce an anathema against all those who reverence the Council of Chalcedon ? Were Dioscorus and his adherents superior to the divine Law ? These men, corrupters of the Holy Scriptures, have had the temerity and the hardihood to array themselves against them ; but the Church punished their boldness by erasing their names from the number of its children. Do they, then, to-day merit your confidence more than the holy Chrysostom, the holy Basil, and the other doctors of the Greek Church, whom God has sent to instruct you in His holy faith, and to defend it through the world by their learned writings ?

"What, then, do you pretend that your fastings

and watchings place you in security from the thunderbolts of the Church ! Are you ignorant that, without the true faith, which alone constitutes any the children of God and joint heirs with Jesus Christ, it is not possible to please the Master of the world, or Him who shall one day judge the living and the dead ?”

The more I saw my hearers attentive and touched by my words, the more I elevated my voice and spoke in a firm tone, and in those terms in which I knew it was necessary to address them. By the grace of God, I did this so forcibly and effectively that the oldest and most esteemed monk of the desert, named Jean, arose and declared publicly that what I said was reasonable, and that, in fact, they should not call any heretics, except they had been declared such by the Catholic Church.

All applauded the good old man ; and I have learned that since that time he has always continued to speak and preach the same doctrine. Behold the seed which, during some days, I sowed in those lands, which for so long a time had been lying fallow, full of brambles and thorns. May it please the Divine Goodness to cause this seed to germinate and produce one day an abundant harvest !

The desire which I had to become acquainted with all the mysteries of the Coptic faith caused me to pass entire nights in their library, reading the books written in Arabic, and the legends of their saints. I found these full of trash, absurdities, and ridiculous statements. Of these I shall make use at the proper time and place. At present I will con-

tent myself with making some remarks on my investigations, and to endeavor, above all, to perfect myself in reading and writing with ease in the Coptic language. I have written out the Lord's Prayer in this dialect. The characters are the same as those in the Greek, with very little difference, but with seven or eight letters derived from the Syriac, which the Copts use, besides the twenty-four letters of the Greek alphabet.

The Coptic language is originally derived from the Greek, of which it has retained a large number of words. A knowledge of this fact enabled me to understand the signification of certain Coptic words, which the monks themselves did not understand. I said to them, laughing, "Had I not reason to say to you that I am more of a Copt than you?" And I added, "I am your brother; I love you, and it is through this love for you that I have come to show you the way of truth, which your teachers have concealed from you."

In this way I spent many days in the monastery, assiduously taking part in all their exercises and the services day and night, and holding conferences with them, when I never failed to point out what seemed to me defective in their customs and their prayers.

A bell, about two feet in height and the same in diameter, suspended in the tower of the monastery, summoned us to the choir and to all the services of the community. The sound of this bell is very strange music in the desert, and, above all, among the Turks.

On the 10th of December, which was Saturday, I set out for the Monastery of Amba Bichoi, otherwise Saint Abisay, distant from that of the Suriens only two stones' throw. I remained there but two hours, finding only three or four monks, without any priest. I therefore returned to my place at the Suriens, and passed the rest of the day. The next day, the 11th, after taking part in the services of the night and of the Mass, which lasted during two hours of the night, even to sunrise, I set out for the Monastery of the Holy Virgin of Elbaramous, or of the Greeks. The Superior of Saint Macarius returned to his home, and I had as my companion the old monk, named Jean, whom I have already mentioned.

I learned on my way that the plain of Sceté is called by the Arabs *Chaihat*. We saw every morning the footprints of wild boars, bears, hyenas, wild cattle, gazelles, wolves, and crows, freshly imprinted on the sands. These animals prowl around during the night and disappear in the day. The dung of the gazelles gives a scent of musk, but this odor is dissipated after some days.

Towards mid-day we reached Elbaramous, a monastery very much venerated, not only for the worship of the Most Holy Virgin, who is there particularly honored by the Copts, but also from having been the residence of a great number of hermits, who have in former times sought there a refuge.

The tradition is that it was built by one of those named Macarius. Saint Arsenius selected it as the place of his retreat. This great servant of God had

always been a man of prominence in the world. The reputation of his virtue induced the Emperor Theodosius to intrust to him the education of his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius. He acquitted himself of this duty, as in the sight of God, in such a way as to win the approbation of the whole world. He alone was dissatisfied with himself, and with the kind of life he was obliged to lead at the Court. One day, when he was filled with anxiety, he turned to the Lord, and offered to Him the prayer of the young man mentioned by the evangelist, Saint Matthew,—“ Lord, what must I do to inherit eternal life ? ” — when he heard an inward voice, but very distinct, which answered him, “ Arsenius, fly from the Court.” He did not require any thing more to induce him to quit it, and to go and devote himself to God alone in the Desert of Sceté, which at that time was very famous.

There he lived for forty years, in the continued practice of every virtue, and particularly of that of humility. He had great power in prayer, and passed days and a portion of the nights in the church, concealing himself behind a pillar, so as not to be seen by any one, and to be more absorbed in the divine offices. His desire to be unknown was so great that, the Patriarch Theophilus having come to visit him, he asked him, as the greatest favor, not to come again to seek Arsenius in his solitude.

He died, in the odor of sanctity, at the age of ninety-five years. The Church has enrolled his name among its saints, and he is particularly honored in the Monastery of Elbaramous.

The Abbé Moyse, an Ethiopian by birth, was one of the abbés of this monastery, and to this day his memory is cherished there with great veneration. The beginning of his life was very different from that of Saint Arsenius ; for he lived for a long time in continual robbery, as the head of a troop of brigands. But God permitted a sad affair to happen to him, which caused his conversion. Having recognized his unhappy state, he had no other desire than to go and expiate his crimes by the most rigorous of all acts of penitence. He remained until his death in the Monastery of Sceté, where he died at the age of seventy-five years, deeply regretted by all his disciples, who loved and honored him as their father.

They speak there very warmly of two of his disciples, who were highly recommended by their birth and by their virtue. They were named Maximus and Timotheus, and are said to have been sons of a consul, or of another great Grecian nobleman. It is in memory of them that this monastery bears the name of Elbaramous, or Piramaous, a word corrupted from El Romaous, which signifies the Monastery of the Greeks. At the distance of three or four musket-shots from this place we discovered the sad ruins of ten or twelve sacred edifices, near each other, among which they pointed out the Monastery of Moyse and the church of the Saints Maximus and Timotheus.

The Superior of Elbaramous came to receive me. This Superior is a young priest, who seemed to me to have a great deal of wit, but little learning. I had a discussion with him, which lasted from one hour after

noon to sunset, on the points in dispute between them and us. The prejudice of these schismatical monks in favor of their opinions, however extravagant they may be, is the principal obstacle to remove, when one wishes to labor for their conversion. I will leave any one to judge of the extravagance of these views by what I am going to relate, and which I treated only as a matter of amusement, to dispel the idea from the mind of the young Superior of the monastery, who was infatuated with it. Towards the end of our conversation, as he had not yet mentioned Vespers, I reminded him that it was time for them to begin.

He answered, "Prayer is forbidden at this hour."

"Why?" I asked.

"Because," he replied, "it is precisely the hour which the demons have for their own. The Heavens are at present closed against us; and, besides, the monks should not be found in such evil company. But, in half an hour from now, Hell will close on them, Paradise will open, and then we will say our Vespers, and God will hear us."

"How is it possible," I said to him, "that a man of your intellect can entertain so ridiculous an idea? Where have you seen that the devils come forth from Hell, that they make their prayers to God, and that God hears them? Who are the men, equally senseless with yourselves, to have repeated such extravagances, instead of showing, as they should have done, no other feelings but contempt for them? How do you make your pretended prohibition to offer prayers to God at this hour agree with what the Saviour of

the world inculcates in St. Luke xviii., 'that it is necessary always to pray and not to faint'? Were the Holy Virgin, the Apostles, and the disciples of Jesus Christ, then, in the evil company of demons and the Heavens closed against them, when they passed their days and nights in prayer, to prepare themselves for the descent of the Holy Spirit? Did not St. Paul then do wrong in exhorting the Ephesians to pray at all hours and in all places?"

The schismatical monk, who had sufficient intellect, comprehended the ridicule in this reply. He told me that he was well aware I was more learned than himself, and he would make a journey to Cairo expressly to confer with me.

I did not make a longer mission at Elbaramous, but left there on the 12th to go and see the Lake of Nitria or Natron, two leagues distant from the monastery towards the north. The lake is two or three leagues in length, and a quarter of a league in breadth. They derive from it every year 36,000 quintals¹ of native carbonate of soda for the Grand Seigneur, which yields him about thirty-six bourses.² I waded into the water to my knees to get near the workmen who are laboring, entirely naked, in the midst of the lake, with bars of iron six feet in length, and as thick as a finger. They struck the bottom with these pointed bars, as they do in France in the quarries, and detached pieces of this material like cakes of soap.

On the 13th, Father Jean and I embarked on the

¹ A quintal is 100 lbs. — TRANS.

² A bourse is the sum of 500 crowns. — TRANS.

great Desert Sea, but a sea without water, as they call it, — *Bhar bela Mar*. We took with us an Arab to act as guide.

In proportion as one advances on this plain, or lake without water, the bottom sinks down into billows, and in certain places loses itself as in a gulf. Then the bottom rises and extends in large channels, which lead into other gulfs. Nothing, in fact, can so much resemble a dry lake as these different hollows. On the ridge of the plain, and on the borders of these vast holes, one sees here and there what appear to be beams lying on the earth and pieces of scattered wood, which seem to have come from the ruins of some building. But when one endeavors to take them in his hand, whether beams or broken planks, he finds that what appears to be wood is in reality stone. To what can we attribute this change, if not to the effect of the nitre in the atmosphere? I have counted more than fifty of these petrified beams, and the people of the country assure me I should see hundreds if I advanced much farther. The kingdom of Fejam, which is not far from the lake, contains many most beautiful petrifications, as M. le Maire, our consul, has stated. I have taken with me to Cairo some pieces of this petrified wood as proofs of what I have said.

After having passed over one portion of the *Bhar bela Mar*, I returned to Saint Macarius on the 14th of December, and to Etris on the 15th, to keep my promise with the inhabitants of that place. I spent three days with them. They showed the most extraordinary joy at my return. All they desired was

to receive my instructions. To render them useful to all, I assembled the women and the girls at certain hours, and the men and boys at others. I put them all in the Catechism, to cause them to learn the principles of our faith, which they did not half know, and in a very confused manner. Having taught them the Lord's Prayer, of which the greater part of them were ignorant, I made them recite it in public. These pious exercises increased their devotion, and at the same time were a great consolation to me. Many of them asked me to confess them, among whom were a married Deacon and the Mebacher, or Chamberlain, of the Aga, the ruler of Etris, Oüardan, and other neighboring villages. These two last made a public renunciation of their heresy; the others, to tell the whole truth, did not know what they believed. I had to content myself with their promise that henceforth they would honor the Church of Saint Peter, that they would believe every thing which the Catholic Church believes, and that they would listen to the instructions of its ministers.

After my three days' employment at Etris in teaching the Catechism and the Public Prayers, and in hearing confessions, the Chamberlain of the Aga offered himself to conduct me to Oüardan. We arrived there on the 18th; and, to lose no time, the same evening I assembled all the Christian families of the village, and went through the exercises of my mission, and with as much fruit as at Etris. They informed me that they had in that village a pigeon-house full of many papers covered with magical characters, which

they had bought of some Coptic and schismatical monks. I pursued the proper course with regard to it, and attached to the place the Jerusalem Cross, which the Copts reverence with much devotion.

The 21st of December, St. Thomas's Day, I celebrated the Festival of this great Apostle in the most solemn manner that I was able. I felt, during the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, an extraordinary impulse to ask of God, by his intercession, the conversion of these Christians of Lower Egypt, whom I came to visit and instruct.

My little mission finished, and my time to return to Cairo drawing near, I took leave of my new disciple, the Chamberlain of the Aga, the ruler of Etris. He bestowed on me a thousand marks of friendship, confidence, and recognition of the service which I had rendered him. He promised me to persevere in the practice of our Holy Faith which he had embraced, and to keep up the holy exercises of piety and religion which I had established at Etris and Oüardan. After having embraced me, he gave me a guide and letters of commendation addressed to his friends on my route, after which we left him.

I passed through many villages marked on my map. At Terranè I saw the carbonate of soda which they preserve there in great piles. I arrived at Abou el Chaoui, where I lodged in the house of the Chamberlain of the Bey, who gave me a new guide for the following days. Continuing my route as far as the village of Damanehour, I reached there on the 23d of December.

Mehemet Surquas, the Bey's Chamberlain, received me at his house. I visited the village, which is a very pleasant place of residence. The Copts have a church there, which, I think, is the only one they have in this part of the West from Cairo to Alexandria. There is none at Rosetta. There are Christians scattered through these villages, but without a temple, a minister, or any instruction.

Damanehour has but three priests for a large number of Christians, and I did not find these priests better instructed than their pupils. They voluntarily took part in my teaching. I replied to many of their questions, and had every reason to bless God for the docility both of masters and disciples.

The Bey's Chamberlain asked me for particular instruction for his numerous family and for his friends. I assembled them at his house, where he made me continue my instructions far into the night. All listened to the word of God with so much avidity that, although I was greatly fatigued from the journey I had made and these many hours of instruction, yet I did not think of taking any repose.

The Chamberlain wished to detain me for several days, but I most determinedly insisted on taking my leave ; promising him, however, that I would return after a time to learn for myself the fruits of my visit. He gave me two attendants of the Bey to accompany me to Deirout, a port of the Nile, four or five leagues distant from Damanehour.

My journey led me over the beautiful country which the Nile fertilizes by its inundations. The flax was

then in blossom, the beans ready to form, while the wheat, the barley, and the lentils were all very high. The tobacco and the cotton had begun to appear, while the horses and other beasts of burden were browsing off the herbage.

After passing through this beautiful country, I entered another cut up by marshes and ponds, which put the patience of the traveller to the test. Four or five times the water reached up to my waist, and once to my neck. After encountering these fatigues, I reached Deirout. There, after supper, I embarked in a boat, and, before midnight of the Festival of Christmas, we found ourselves at Rosetta. I did not dare to land until daylight appeared, but in the early morning I repaired to the French Church, where I celebrated my three Masses and assisted at the other Offices. Then I went to visit the Greek Patriarch of Alexandria, named Samuel, who had come there to restore his health by change of climate.

The Maronites and Copts, who had heard of my arrival, came immediately to see me, and earnestly desired me to confess them. I prepared them, as far as possible, to perform their devotions.

On the Festival of the Innocents, I returned by land to Alexandria, where I learned that all the French ships had arrived. I immediately went to perform my mission on these ships, and to invite the passengers and crew to receive the Sacraments for this Holy Festival. I found my arrival was very opportune for many of them, who had great need to reconcile themselves to God. They followed my advice, made con-

fession, and received the Sacrament of the Eucharist with the most exemplary piety. During my stay at Alexandria, I went to visit the Church of Saint Mark, which is respectable for its antiquity. It is in the hands of Coptic priests, and, consequently, in a very bad condition. That of Saint Catherine, which is served by the Greeks, is very much ornamented by their care and liberality. M. de Montreuil, the vice-consul, and M. Barthelemi Blanc, showed me all sorts of kind attentions. They placed their table and their house at my disposal, and omitted nothing to relieve me from my past fatigues.

I left Alexandria on Twelfth Day to return to Rosetta. The brothers Guis of Ciota, the elder of whom had formerly been my fellow-pupil in Philosophy, received me at their house with all the politeness and kindness possible. They furnished me with provisions for my return. I embarked on the Nile on the 14th of January, but a head-wind prevented our reaching Boulacq until the beginning of the night of the 21st; and the following Sunday I celebrated the Holy Mass at Cairo.

This, Monseigneur, is a short account of my journey through the deserts and the countries of Lower Egypt, at the west of the Delta. I can say, like the Patriarch Jacob, that, with my staff only, I had ventured to traverse, not without much pain and fatigue, a heathen land, to seek the lost sheep. The staff on which I have supported myself is the same as that which gave strength and consolation to the Kingly Prophet : ¹ I refer to that Divine Providence by which

¹ Psalm xxii. : "Thy rod and Thy staff have comforted me."

alone I have been sustained on my route. It was that which inspired me, like Moses, with the desire to visit my brethren who are groaning in slavery, and my visit to whom has afforded me a very great consolation.

XII.

MONASTERIES IN THE THEBAID DESERT.

1716.

[In the fifth century, Saint Jerome gave the world a particularly detailed account of his visit to the monks of the Thebais, and particularly to the old monasteries of Saint Anthony and Saint Paul, perhaps the earliest ever erected. This was then the cradle of the monastic system, whose rapid progress owed more to the glowing story of Saint Jerome than to any other agency.

From that day, one century flowed by after another, in the stagnant life of these secluded abodes, as changeless as the surface of the desert around ; but we have no extended account of them till the Abbé Sicard published his narrative of his journey across the sandy wilderness of Thebes, to visit these retreats of the Coptic recluses.

A point of great interest connected with his expedition was the fact that his companion was the celebrated Joseph Assemani. His name must be familiar to any one who has been interested in the Library of the Vatican. A Maronite shepherd in his early days, he found his way to Rome ; and there, by self-cultivation, he advanced, until his fame for learning was spread abroad, and he had intrusted to his care the precious volumes and manuscripts of the Vatican. There his days were passed among its treasures.

There are persons whose whole lives, gliding by in unbroken quiet, offer but one or two salient points to the biographer. So was it with Assemani. There are but two events which break in on the dead calm of his studious career. One was his presiding, as Legate of the Pope, over the Maronite Council which

was convoked in Syria in 1735. The other was the journey to the ancient monasteries of the Thebaid wilderness, where he went in search of manuscripts to enrich the collection at Rome. Thenceforth he lived only for his literary labors, forgetful of his distant Syrian home; "scarcely," we are told, "allowing time for the performance of sacerdotal duties, or attendance at the ceremonies of Saint Peter's." And when at last the end came, he was laid in the cemetery in Rome, his biographer tells us, "sorrowing as much to part from the treasures of the Vatican as from his decaying life."]

LETTER of *Father Sicard, Missionary in Egypt, to
Father Fleurian.*

MY REVEREND FATHER, — My constant occupation, to fulfil the different duties of the mission, has, even to the present time, prevented my furnishing you with an account of my journey through the Desert of Lower Thebes.

I avail myself of the repose and the leisure, which I have come to seek at Cairo, to fulfil the promise I gave you, to furnish you in writing with every thing which it has seemed to me worth your knowing.

M. Joseph Assemani, of the nation of the Maronites, originally from Mount Lebanon, came to Egypt, and arrived at Cairo, nearly a year ago. The object of his journey was to search in this country for old Arabic and Coptic manuscripts, and to purchase them, whatever their cost might be, to enrich the Vatican Library, of which he is Librarian.

We received him at our residence, where we gave him the best welcome in our power; and I made him

the offer of acting as his guide to the Sacristies of the principal churches of this city. At his request, I accompanied him to the monasteries in the Desert of Saint Macarius. We found in all these places a great number of very rare books, of which he purchased those that suited him.

After this first search, he departed to Syria, where they assured him he would find an excellent collection of Syriac manuscripts. He told me, at parting, that he would come back to this city as soon as possible; and made me promise, that, on his return, I would accompany him to the mountains of Lower Thebes, to continue his inquiry for Coptic and Arabic books.

Some months having passed, M. Assemani returned to Cairo. He had scarcely arrived, when he proposed to me to make with him the journey to the Desert of Thebes, of which he had already spoken. For a long time, indeed, I had desired to do this, to obtain fuller information with regard to the Coptic Religious Orders in the monasteries of Saint Anthony and Saint Paul, which are schismatics. I had always proposed to hold some conferences with them, to learn what prospect there might be of their conversion. I knew, indeed, that, without any doubt, their return to the orthodox faith, and that of their Patriarch, would be so much the more important and advantageous, as it would certainly be followed by that of the whole nation.

I was also desirous to examine all that I had heard, on the testimony of others, with regard to the Desert of Thebes, and the monasteries which are within its

bounds. These motives induced me to resolve to accompany Assemanni.

We left Old Cairo on the 23d of May, 1716. The report of our departure began to disquiet the schismatics, so that they repaired to their Patriarch, and excited his fears with regard to the evil effects which might result from our interviews with the schismatic monks of the Desert. They even wished to engage him to oppose our journey. But the Patriarch contented himself with requesting us, in our conferences, not to treat of any doctrine contrary to that of Dioscorus. I gave him the assurance that I would not bring forward any thing except on the fundamental points of the religion of Jesus Christ, and the injunctions of the Evangelists on the necessity of salvation, the evil of sin; on the necessity of good works; on the love of God, and of our neighbor. With this declaration, the Patriarch gave us letters of recommendation, to enable us to be hospitably entertained in the monasteries, and to visit the libraries.

We set sail in a small vessel bound up the Nile. The day after our embarkment, which was the 24th of May, we arrived at the city of Benisonet, situated on the western bank of the river, twenty leagues distant from Cairo. On the 25th, we left Benisonet to go to the village of Baiad, which is on the east of the river. In this place we procured guides to conduct us over the Desert of Saint Anthony, which was one of the principal objects of our journey. On the 26th of May we left Baiad, mounted on camels, and escorted by two camel-drivers. We travelled to the

north along the Nile, for the distance of two or three leagues, and then turned to the east, to enter the celebrated Desert of Saint Anthony, or of Lower Thebes. This desert is so famous that everybody has heard of it: but few persons are acquainted with its true situation, its extent, and the kind of life passed by the hermits who even at this day are living in it; or, at least, they have only a confused idea of these things.

As I have had the advantage of visiting these places, and as I have taken the time to examine every thing which merits attention, I will endeavor, my Reverend Father, to give you an exact detail, not only of the names and the buildings of these monasteries, but also of the mountains and valleys, and generally of every thing which is remarkable in these vast deserts, where there formerly reigned a penitence different from that which you can see to-day, and which schism has distorted.

From Baiad, on the bank of the Nile, is a sandy plain, which stretches even to the pass of Gébée. We travelled across this plain, to enter this gorge, which is shut in by two mountains, the highest of which, at the right, bears the name of Gébée; the other, at the left, and much lower, is named Hajar Moussoum, or the Marked Stone. In this valley, there are three or four reservoirs of water, not far distant from each other, and in natural hollows of the rock. The rain, which fills them, carries with it a chalk, which renders the water white. We arrived about noon at the first reservoir, which is a kind of cistern. The heat was

excessive, and there was no tree in the valley to afford us any shade. We saw only some small bushes scattered here and there, and some herbs, which could not be of any use to us.

We had, however, need of rest, and happily found a high rock which projected forward at the top, and thus protected from the heat of the sun a thick bed of moss which was at its base. We took advantage of this fortunate discovery to pass the time under the shelter of this rock, while the great heat of the day was prevailing.¹

At the third or fourth hour of the evening, we resumed our journey, and took courage to mount to the top of Mount Gébée. There we remained for about an hour. We saw from thence a plain of great extent, which stretched to our right on both sides. This plain was formerly called Banquara, or The Cow. At the present day it is named Sannour, or The Cat. The ground is sandy or sterile, as is that of all the desert. The rains, which are frequent in winter, form many torrents; but their bed is dry all the rest of the year. There we selected a place, the least inconvenient we could find, at which to pass the night of May 27. We partook of the provisions we had brought with us, which consisted of biscuit, cheese, and salt fish. Our supper took but little time to prepare, and but little to eat. As we had a greater desire to sleep than to eat, sleep overcame us on the sand; nor did it lose its hold until the next morning.

¹ "The shadow of a great rock in a weary land" (Isaiah xxxii. 2).
— TRANS.

We left this place two hours before daybreak. Our arrangements had been made judiciously; for, on all the plain of Sannour and on the mountains which surrounded it, we did not see any thing but wild acacias, which bore as many thorns as leaves; and these leaves are so thinly scattered that they offer but little relief to a traveller who seeks to use them as a shade from the scorching sun.

The great plain of Sannour, over which our journey led, terminates at Mount Keleil, or Bien-aimé. This long mountain is divided in the middle, and separates into two, to form a gorge and make room for another plain, which they call by the name of Araba, or the Plain of the Chariots. This plain, on which I have travelled more than fifteen leagues towards the north and the north-west, extends a much greater distance on the side towards the south. It is bounded on the east by the mountains Keleil and Askar, and on the west by Mount Cobzim.

We passed around Mount Keleil by the gorge of which I have spoken. On the right we saw the ruins of a monastery, which was at the entrance of the Plain of the Chariots. Our guides caused us to proceed two leagues beyond, to reach the bed of a dried-up torrent, which was to serve for our bed, and where we were to spend the night. Our lodging-place, bad as it was, caused us much less suffering than did the thirst. Our four camels had each been loaded with a skin filled with water. Two of these we had emptied, and counted on having the other two; but our camel-drivers, I know not for what reason, had rubbed

them over with linseed-oil, which was so powerful that it affected the water to such an extent that we preferred suffering with thirst to relieving ourselves with this water.

The next morning, the 28th, we set out before day. The dawn enabled us to see a group of palm-trees, which were at the foot of Mount Keleil, and distant from us four or five miles. Our guides told us that these palm-trees shaded a little marsh, the water of which, although somewhat salt, was good to drink. We hastened thither. The speed with which we reached it resembled that of the Israelites, when they pressed forward to drink of the water which came forth from the rock.

This little relief, in our excessive thirst, gave us new strength. We hastened our steps to reach the Monastery of Saint Anthony at a proper hour. Some little hills concealed it from our view. We passed over them, and suddenly came in sight of this celebrated and ancient monument. Our diligence was so great that we arrived there before mid-day.

To give you, my Reverend Father, the best idea that it is possible for me to convey of this place, so commended and so little known, it is necessary to remark, in the first place, that this monastery and all that surrounds it only bring to your view objects frightful in their nature, and which fill you with a holy horror. You see a great number of caverns, scattered over the mountains Cobzim, Keleil, and Askar. One sees at once that they have been hollowed out by man. The rays of the sun can with

difficulty penetrate into them. Between these high mountains is seen only a vast plain, as sterile as it is solitary. It is on this plain, at the foot of Mount Cobzim, in sight of the Red Sea, shut in between Mount Cobzim and the mountains of Arabia Petrea, that the Monastery of Saint Anthony is situated.

Looking attentively at all these dark caverns, I could imagine that I saw coming forth from them the Anthonys, the Pauls, the Hilarions, the Paphnuces, the Ammons, and all the famous Fathers of the desert, who had condemned themselves to a life of toil and penitence, to win for themselves the kingdom of God. We found there, as their successors, only the schismatic Copts, who were passing their days in the Monastery of Saint Anthony.

We presented ourselves for entrance, and looked for the door; but our guides told us that it was not to be found. In fact, the constant fear lest the Arabs, who are great robbers of the monks, should come and surprise the monastery to pillage them, has obliged them to make another entrance for ordinary use. This expedient has been adopted, not only in the Monastery of Saint Anthony, but also in those of Mount Sinai and Saint Monnas, of which Saint Pithérion was Superior, as Rufin states in his history.

Our camel-drivers, who knew what was necessary to do on this occasion, took some stones and forcibly threw them into the garden of the monks, and, shouting as loud as they could, caused them to hear. In a moment we saw some of the monks appear on the parapet of a very high wall. They signified to us by

their gestures and the tone of their voices that we were very welcome. At the same time, they lowered down to us a jar of water, knowing by experience that the pilgrims who arrive at their walls are always afflicted with an excessive thirst. We availed ourselves of this charitable act, of which we had great need. Then a large basket descended to us, in which our camel-drivers placed us, and immediately the monks, who were on a kind of parapet, raised us from the ground by means of a pulley, which hoisted us up to a high window, through which we entered the monastery.

The Superior, informed of our arrival, came to give us a gracious salute. I announced to him the claims of M. Assemanni. After their first civilities, we went to the church to perform our devotions, conducted thither by the Superior and the monks. They then brought us to a chamber, which was sufficiently proper, but very poorly furnished. At that moment, two monks spread a large cloth of skin on a mat flat on the ground, on which they placed five or six plates, which contained the same kind of food. This was a paste, boiled in water with the oil of Sesane, on which they poured two or three spoonfuls of honey. The Superior invited us to place ourselves at table, that is to say, to sit down with our feet crossed, one under the other, according to the custom of the country. Our abstinence from nourishment gave us sufficient appetite to eat. They afterwards served each one with two cups, one filled with wine and the other with coffee. Both these were given us as a mark of distinction and for elegance.

After we had rested some time, we went round to visit the different parts of the monastery. In the midst of a large, inner court there are two churches, or rather two chapels, which are twenty or thirty paces in length and much less in breadth. Their only merit is their antiquity, for they are dark and roughly built. Their walls are covered with pictures, very much smoked by the quantity of incense they burn in the chapels during the celebration of divine service. One of these chapels is dedicated to the Apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and the other to Saint Anthony.

It is natural that a view of these buildings should recall what tradition has taught us of those holy hermits, and to cause us to exclaim, with emotion, "Here the great Saint Anthony has prayed; here Macarius, the successor of Saint Anthony, has prayed; here Postumien, the successor of Saint Macarius, and Father of five thousand hermits, has offered his devotions!"

These two churches communicate by a small gallery, which leads from one to the other. This gallery has a small belfry with a bell, which is only a foot and a half in diameter. The Turks do not suffer this in other places; but in these deserts they do not keep watch.

Near these churches is a square tower, the door of which is placed about six yards above the level of the ground. This tower is a kind of fortification and a place of security, where the monks deposit their books and all they have which is most valuable, in the con-

stant fear lest the Arabs come and scale their walls to plunder them, — a contingency which has happened more than once. It is for the same reason that they have contrived in this tower a little chapel, where they pack away their sacred vessels, and where they perform their services in case of an attack, to which they are so liable. They enter this tower by a little drawbridge, supported on a neighboring terrace. I have seen similar towers in the monasteries of the Desert of Nitria.

The cells of the monks are built along the length of the court. They are about thirty in number, and are almost all separated, one from the other, and form small streets. The refectory, the kitchen, the well, at which a horse is almost constantly employed in drawing up the water, and the other little buildings appropriated to domestic offices, have their own particular streets. These cells and offices and streets appear like a little village, situated in the midst of a great desert. Silence is kept there day and night.

The monastery has its garden, which is sufficiently large. The court of which I am about to speak and the garden which surrounds it form a square, which includes nine or ten acres. In their garden the monks cultivate all kinds of kitchen vegetables for their use. They have planted there dates, olives, beans, lentils, peaches, and apricots. They invited us to pluck these fruits for ourselves.

We found in their garden two vines, which furnish them with a little claret wine. This they keep for their guests, whom they wish to distinguish and par-

ticularly regale. But they themselves never drink it, except on the four great festivals of the year. Their ordinary drink is water. It is brought to them by three different pipes, which receive it at the foot of Mount Cobzim, where is its source. These pipes convey it under the ground and the walls, even into the offices and the gardens of the monastery, which are irrigated by it. The water is clear, but is, nevertheless, charged with a degree of saltness. To this, however, they are accustomed, and it is not injurious to health. The water throughout this entire country has the same quality.

Towards the middle of the garden is a small chapel, dedicated to Saint Mark, the hermit, and one of the disciples of Saint Anthony. It is a small hermitage, to which the monks go for their private devotions. This chapel has two altars, and certain inscriptions which one reads on the walls give us to understand that the Latins have celebrated there the Holy Mass.

After having given this description of the monastery, it is necessary to speak of the monks who inhabit it. There were but fifteen monks in the place when we were there. The only priests among them were the Superior and one other monk. Their dress consists of a shirt of white wool, a tunic of dark wool, and a vest of black serge, with large sleeves. This tunic covers the other garments. They wear on the head a black cowl, fitting very close, and under the cowl a cap of red or violet wool. This cap is surrounded by a turban, striped with white and blue

They have round them a leather belt. Their shoes are red or black. They put them off when they enter the church or their cells, the ground of which is covered with mats. They wear no stockings. Their head is always shaved, and they never uncover it, whether they assist in the divine mysteries or themselves celebrate them.

As to what relates to the regulation of their lives, this is what I have learned. Their rule is to observe obedience, poverty, and chastity; never to eat meat in the monastery; to fast the whole year, with the exception of Saturdays, Sundays, and the season of Easter; to recite the Canonical Masses standing, according to the Oriental form, — being allowed, nevertheless, to support themselves on a staff, which has a cross-piece above, in the form of a T; to present themselves in the choir at the moment the Psalms are to be chanted; to sleep clothed, covered by a single mat; to prostrate themselves, every evening, one hundred and fifty times, with their faces to the earth and their arms extended, and to make the sign of the Cross each time they raise themselves from the ground. They call these prostrations *Meranoé*; that is to say, *Penitence*.

But among these Coptic monks are those who make profession of a more perfect life. They are distinguished from the other monks by a kind of Pallium, or Scapular, of leather, which they call the Angelic Habit, and which they entitle Ashim, from the Greek word ἄθημα, which signifies habit. This Pallium, or Scapular, hangs down from the top of the shoulders,

on the back and on the stomach, under the tunic. This habit has four ends which are woven in a Cross, entwining one with the other in many ways.

These aspirants for a higher perfection than their brethren, and who for distinction wear this Angelic Habit of which we have spoken, are obliged to observe the Fasts and other austerities more strictly; among other things, to make three hundred prostrations every night, and as many signs of the Cross. I inquired how many monks were in the monastery who had obtained permission to wear the Ashim. They replied that there were but three or four. We did not see them, as they observed a very strict seclusion.

If a life as pure and penitent as that of these monks of the Desert of St. Anthony had for its foundation a pure and orthodox faith, we should have nothing but praise to bestow upon them, and to thank God for the successors Providence had given to the ancient solitaries of the Theban Desert. But these old sanctuaries of virtue, formerly watered by the tears and dyed by the blood of those noble martyrs to penitence, are to-day occupied by men infected with Monothelism and Monophysism, — men who stagnate in gross ignorance, but infatuated with their own views, prejudiced against the Catholics, — given up to all kinds of superstition, entangling themselves in sorcery, believing themselves to possess the power to cure the sick, to charm serpents, and to commit a thousand other extravagances.

See the successors of those bright luminaries who formerly shone in the Theban Desert and through the

entire world! The Lord has overturned these living altars, the fragrance of which was so pleasing to Him. He has smitten with a curse those blessed habitations to which men once resorted from all parts to acquire the love of sanctity. Sad effects of schism!

I had many conversations with the Superior of the monastery, who is named Synnodius. The Superior, to speak accurately, is only the Vicar of the monastery; for there is a Superior-General, not only of the Monastery of Saint Anthony, but also of that of Saint Paul, of which we will speak presently. The Superior-General makes his residence at Bouche, a village west of the Nile. His care is to send to these two monasteries, which are under his jurisdiction, supplies of wheat, lentils, onions, linseed oil, incense, wax, and other similar things of which they have need.

The Superior-General who was then at the head of affairs was named Mark. He was involved in a quarrel with his Patriarch when I was at Cairo, where the Patriarch resided. The subject of their dispute was about a sum of eight or ten thousand crowns, which Mark, as was reported, had hoarded up, and which he carefully guarded. His Patriarch condemned it, and wished to make him render an account of this sum.

To return to Synnodius: I found in this monk more wit than learning, although he thought himself learned. I contented myself with putting to him some questions, as if to satisfy my own doubts on their erroneous and schismatic opinions. But he had no desire except to answer in accordance with his own belief, and to inveigh against the Latin Church, with-

out being willing to listen to a single good argument. He was much better pleased with talking to me about astrology and the transmutation of metals, which he made the sole object of his studies. I learned, therefore, that it was necessary to content myself with pitying him, and praying God to remove his obstinacy.

He was much more amiable when we asked him to allow us to see the tower, which is closed against all strangers. But, in consideration of some little presents of articles of hardware, we persuaded him to conduct us thither. We were curious to see and examine the manuscripts. We found there three chests filled with them, which was all that had escaped the pillage of the monastery at different times. We turned them over, one after another ; but the manuscripts, for the most part, consisted only of prayers and homilies in the Coptic and Arabic languages. The Abbé Assemani found only three or four manuscripts of any use to the Vatican. These he bought of the Superior, without the knowledge of the monks, who would have been opposed to it, notwithstanding the worthlessness to them of these books, of which they did not make any use.

After having had sufficient time to visit the Monastery of Saint Anthony, and to become acquainted with it, we proposed to Father Synnodius to accompany us in our visit to the Monastery of Saint Paul. He told us that he would not advise us to attempt this journey, as we would certainly fall into the hands of the Arabs called Abaldé, who infested the borders of the Red Sea. He explained to us that these

Abaldé Arabs were originally from the neighborhood of Assaoüan and Nubia ; that they were sworn enemies of the other Arabs called Benioüassel ; that these lived on the banks of the Nile, towards Cairo ; that they were often engaged in battles with each other ; and that only a short time ago those of Abaldé had massacred a large troop of the Benioüassel.

I replied to Father Synnodius that my curiosity to learn for myself the productions, the size, and the fluctuations of the Red Sea, was much stronger than any fears of the Arabs ; and that, besides, we had confidence in the protection of God.

Father Synnodius yielded to our great desire. We loaded our camels with the necessary provisions, and set out on our journey at five o'clock in the evening of May 29th. Our course was towards the north by the plain of Araba, having Mount Cobzim on our right, and Mount Askar on our left, distant from each other about eighteen miles, and thirty miles from the Red Sea. The plain where we were was cut up in the summer time by an infinite number of dry beds of torrents, and covered in many places with small hills which ordinarily are composed of mineral earth of ochre of different colors, — yellow, red, green, and brown.

As our way led near to Mount Cobzim, we saw at its base vast hollows and large masses of stone detached and scattered here and there. Father Synnodius said that great piles of stone which we saw had been dug from three quarries of marble, of which one was black, another yellow, and the third red. We

found on the same Mount Cobzim two other quarries, one of which furnished a yellow marble and the other granite, — more valued and sought after than all the marbles. This last quarry is near a valley called Tine, or the Fig Tree, which is so named because the valley is fertile in this kind of fruit. It is irrigated by a fountain of sweet water, to which the wild goats, the gazelles, the tigers, and ostriches constantly come to drink.

As our journey led us over the plain which is called Araba, signifying in Arabic a wagon, I wished to know the origin of this name. They told me that, formerly, all this part of the country being inhabited by a great number of holy hermits, one could see passing continually wagons loaded with all kinds of provisions which the piety of the faithful Egyptians provided for their brethren, who were living in poverty in the desert, and that for this reason this plain was named the Plain of the Wagons.

We have, however, another idea to advance, which is that the kings of the race of Pharaoh, the Persians, the Greeks, the successors of Alexander, and the Romans, after their conquest of Egypt, quarried from the Thebaid Mountains a great quantity of beautiful marbles, of which Ptolemy speaks, and caused them to be transported over the plain of Araba, to build those superb monuments the remains of which we see and admire even to this day. This reason alone would be sufficient to give to the plain of Araba the name of the Plain of the Wagons.

We travelled by moonlight till two hours after mid

night, and halted in the dry bed of a torrent to take a little rest. We were opposite Mount Aquabé, which signifies "a rough and fatiguing mountain," as, in fact, it is. Persons on foot make their journey across it and arrive in less than ten hours at the Monastery of Saint Anthony, after leaving that of Saint Paul. We were obliged to take fifteen hours, when riding, from the necessity there is of making a great circuit to obtain a passage through the gorge of Mount Cobzim.

One would naturally be surprised, since it is only the distance of a short league from one monastery to the other, that it is necessary to take fifteen hours in making the journey; but he would be much more surprised, when he sees these places, to find that these two mountains — one of which is at the foot of Mount Cobzim, at the west, and the other at the east — are separated only by a single rock, but so steep that it is inaccessible. This rock, by its prodigious height, is seen from a great distance, and seems to give the pilgrim notice of the great circuit it is necessary for him to make. If Saint Jerome, who has taken the pains to give us a detailed account of the fatigues which Saint Anthony had to undergo when he went to visit Saint Paul, had been an eye-witness, as I am, of all these places, he would have explained, without doubt, what it was which obliged Saint Anthony to travel two entire days to reach the cave of Saint Paul, although the retreat of the one was separated from that of the other only by the thickness of a single rock.

We continued our route, always skirting along the side of Mount Cobzim, until we reached a road by which our guides conducted us across it. It was equally steep, whether to climb up on one side, or to descend on the other. When at length we reached the highest point of the mountain, we halted for some time, to see with pleasure the Red Sea, which was at our feet, and the celebrated Mount Sinai, which bounded our horizon. But, to have a nearer view of this famous sea, M. Assemanni and I went to it on foot. We thought, from the appearance of the country, that we had only a short journey to make; but we found, however, that it was two long leagues to reach the sea.

We gazed upon it attentively, recalling the memory of the miracles which the Great Master of the Universe had formerly performed in behalf of His people. We felt that in this place, following the example of the Israelites, we should offer to the Lord our thanksgiving for all the blessings which we continually were receiving from the Divine Providence.

On the borders of the sea we saw a great number of different kinds of shells, which are thrown up there by the action of the waves, the most beautiful and rare of which we collected. We found there also some pieces of alabaster, and small pieces of a kind of white coral, called *châb* in Arabic. These little pieces of coral are in the form of small, rough branches, covered with little holes. We carried away with us those which seemed to merit a place in the cabinets of the curious.

While we were thus occupied with these curiosities, our camel-drivers joined us with Father Synnodius. I took advantage of his company to gain some information with regard to all those objects which we had before our eyes. We had in perspective four chains of mountains and the Red Sea, which separated them. These mountains are those of Horeb and Sinai, that of Cobzim, that of "the Oil," and that of Arabia Petrea, towards Gorondel. The mountains of Horeb and Sinai were the most distant from us. Father Synnodius told us that we were then sixty miles from them. Horeb is the highest, and to the north; Sinai is the lowest, and situated at the south. Cobzim was near us, at the west. Giabal Ezzeit, which in Arabic signifies "The Mount of Oil," showed itself distinctly to us, though at a great distance. They find there many springs of the oil of petroleum, which has given to it the name it bears. This mountain is a continuation of Mount Cobzim, which extends over a long space. The mountains of Arabia Petrea, which closed our view on the side of the north, form the boundaries of the Red Sea. Its bank, called to-day Corondel, is the place where the Israelites passed through the sea on dry land, and where Pharaoh and his army were engulfed in the waves. This passage, which a wonderful miracle once rendered so favorable to the people of God, is to-day very dangerous by the continual rushing of the waters which enter into the gulf. I have examined at this time, as diligently as was possible for me, the route which the Hebrews took in coming from Memphis to the Red Sea. I have inves-

tigated their passage across that sea; and I have followed, so to say, all their steps.

It was on the 30th of May, the eve of Whitsunday, that we were on the western bank of the Gulf of Arabia. This has different names; for they call it the Sea of Cobzim, the Sea of Jement or of Mecca, and the Red Sea. I shall not stop to defend the etymology of this last name. I will only say that it is not derived from the color of the water. I am certain, on the contrary, — for I have seen it, — that this water, near the shores, even to the distance of two or three miles out to sea, is of a grass-green. It receives its color from the quantity of sea-weeds which grow under the water. If you look at it still farther out, you will not perceive any other color than that which is common to all these seas.

While I was making my observations, my companions were employed in fishing. They spread a long net, which they drew in, and captured a large number of different kinds of fish. One of those they caught was a beautiful sight. It had fins yellow as gold, and its body was striped with blue and gold. The camel-drivers prepared it for eating, and we found the taste excellent. Father Synnodius laid in a large store of this kind of fish, and of many others, which he had salted for his monastery. The salt he found in abundance on the sand. They had only to dig down half a foot to obtain it.

After our dinner of fish, we remounted our camels to go to the monastery of Saint Paul. We arrived there towards six o'clock in the evening. The Arabs

call this monastery *Deir il memoura*,—which is to say, the *Monastery of the Tigers*.

The people of the country have given it this name through a tradition which prevails among them, that Saint Anthony, having been present at the death of Saint Paul, and wishing to place his body in the earth, two tigers, emerging from the neighboring forest, came to dig the grave where this great servant of God was to be interred. Saint Jerome, in the narrative which he has given us of the death of this holy Father of the Hermits, says that there were two lions who rendered him this service. Whichever it might be, the miracle was no less great. It is certain, however, that in the deserts of Egypt one rarely sees lions; while tigers, wild goats, ostriches, gazelles, and foxes abound. The tigers wage continual war against the wild goats. These last have horns which are formidable to the tigers. One of the monks of Saint Paul presented me with the horn of a goat, which was four spans in length.

The Monastery of Saint Paul, where we arrived, is situated at the east, in the heart (so to speak) of Mount Cobzim. It is surrounded by deep ravines and sterile hills, the surface of which is black. The elevation of these deprives the monastery of any view of the Red Sea, which is two or three leagues distant. The mountains of Horeb and Sinai are twenty leagues distant.

The building of the monastery is a large square. It is surrounded by a garden, but much smaller than that of Saint Anthony, containing the same kind of

plants. It is irrigated by salt water, which passes through it, coming from a neighboring rock, and conducted through an archway. This I measured, and found its length to be seventy paces. It passes under the walls which enclose the monastery, and is then distributed to all places where it is necessary. The monks have no other water than this to drink, and they use it, salt as it is. It was apparently with the same water that the holy anchorite Paul mixed the bread which, according to ancient tradition, a raven did not fail to bring him every day for sixty years.

The church of the monastery is neither large nor beautiful. But what so much commends it to us is that it contains within its walls the cave where Paul, the celebrated patriarch of all the solitaries, dead to the world and to himself, had no other intercourse but with his God. The cave, dark and wild, inspires one with the love of solitude, a contempt for the grandeur of this world, a desire for eternal blessings, and an entire confidence in the goodness of God, who takes particular care of his servants. Paul and Anthony had a sensible proof of this when, together employing day and night in chanting the praises of God and entreating his mercy, the Lord, for the sake of Anthony, doubled the ordinary support of Paul.

We entered the monastery in the same way in which we gained access to that of Saint Anthony; that is to say, by means of a pulley, which raised us from the ground to a high window, which gave entrance to the monastery. The monks were there waiting for us. After having saluted us, they went in procession

into their church. They recited some prayers ; afterwards they joined us again, and conducted us to the refectory, where they presented us with a repast very similar to that which we had at Saint Anthony.

We employed the rest of the day in visiting the cells, the garden, and the other buildings of the monastery. The Superior took us to see the library, but the valuable books and manuscripts had been removed.

I knew that they had in the monastery a monk, originally from Upper Egypt, whose parents I had known. I therefore asked for him, and he was brought to me. But the Superior and some others of the monks gathered about me, in the fear, as I could well see, lest this monk should permit himself to be influenced by the Latins. We took advantage of the opportunity — M. Assemani and myself — to put to them some questions which were calculated to awaken within them some proper fears with regard to their state. Among other inquiries we made of them was, whether they always precisely adhered to the views in which their Fathers Paul and Anthony, of whom they were the successors, had lived, and in which they had died ; whether they did not esteem it an honor to be children of the Church of Jesus Christ ; whether they did not recognize the truth, that His Church was His mystical body, of which His Vicar on earth was the Head, and the faithful its members ?

To these questions they replied to us, as other schismatics have elsewhere said, that the Church was the Holy Virgin, the Gospel, the Holy Sepulchre,

the heavenly Jerusalem, the Sacraments, the Bishops and Doctors of their nation. Such is the ignorance of these poor hermits. But what renders them most worthy of pity is that they have united with their ignorance an obstinacy and a good opinion of themselves, founded on their hard and self-denying life. In fact, they mortify their bodies with continual fasts and severe labors, which they only interrupt to chant the Psalms. They sleep in the hardest manner; they live only on vegetables, badly cooked; they very rarely drink wine; they observe a rigorous silence and a constant seclusion. Such is the deplorable state of the schismatic, who nourishes his pride by his hollow and seeming virtues. The simplicity, the humility, the docility, which the Gospel of Jesus Christ demands, are only found in the true Catholic.

As we arrived at the Monastery of Saint Paul, on the eve of Whitsunday, — which occurred this year on the 31st of May, — the monks commenced their services the next day. There were Vespers, Matins, which they said at midnight; Mass, which they celebrated at daybreak; and other prayers, by which the Copts, and the greater part of the Christians of the East, marked the Paschal season. After noon of the same day, they commenced a ceremony which they called the Prostrations. They began by very long and earnest prayers. While uttering them, they constantly prostrated themselves, imploring the mercy of God. They called this ceremony *Aïdel seïoud*; that is to say, The Festival of the Adorations or Prostrations. They called it also *Aïdel ansra*, — The

Festival of the Beginning,—by which they convey the idea that the Day of Pentecost was that of the Birth of Christianity, and the Beginning of the Preaching of the Gospel.

The church in which they have their prayers and all their ceremonies is not more than thirty feet in length, and less in breadth. As it is entirely surrounded by the rock, it is lighted only by a small dome. Its walls, from the roof to the pavement, are covered with large paintings, which represent scenes in the history of the sacred writers. They have not forgotten to paint the two tigers who dug the grave in which Saint Anthony deposited the body of his Father in Jesus Christ. The monk who executed these pictures told us that he had never studied painting,—a truth of which his work was sufficient proof. We asked him where he had procured his different colors, and he replied that he had derived them from the colored earths which he found on the neighboring hills.

All the prayers and ceremonies of the Festival being ended, we took leave of the Superior and the monks, and returned to the border of the sea, where our camel-drivers were waiting for us. M. Assemanni and I devoted our leisure to making certain observations on the Red Sea. This sea rises and falls regularly twice a day, like the ocean. The two seas communicate only by a very narrow passage, which the Arabs call *Bab el Mandel*. The bed of the Red Sea not being very large, its rise and ebb is not very great; but it increases considerably in the tides which take place at new or full moon, and perhaps at the equinoxes.

The 11th of June, 1716, and the eleventh day of the moon, we were on the western side of the sea, twenty leagues from Mount Sinai, and twenty-five from the bottom of the gulf, near Suez. We noticed there that the waves rose in the evening, from six o'clock to midnight, one hundred paces, and that they retired the same distance from midnight to six o'clock in the morning. In making our observations, we saw with great pleasure the shores of the sea, which are charming. We quitted them with regret to return to the Monastery of Saint Anthony, where Father Synnodius, who had gone before us, had appointed our meeting.

We arrived there before sunset; and Father Synnodius, who had been half converted in our interviews with him, gave us a warmer welcome than we had received at our first arrival at his monastery. We proposed to him to conduct us the next day to the Cave of Saint Anthony, that we might say Mass there, which he very willingly agreed to do. The cave is distant one mile from the monastery, and is situated in the side of Mount Cobzim. We set out early in the morning, taking with us the vessels for the altar, Father Synnodius having charged himself with providing wine for the Mass.

The road from the monastery to the Cave of Saint Anthony is not an easy one. It was necessary, first, to cross a deep, wet ditch, filled with palm-trees, reeds, and wild plants. Then we climbed over the rocks, partly of stone and partly of talc. The talc is very common in Egypt. Towards the middle of the moun-

tain we came to the ruins of the cell of the blessed Paul the Simple, whom we may call the Thaumaturgus of the Desert. Saint Anthony sent to him the demoniacs and the sick whom he could not himself heal ; and God granted to the prayer of this humble and simple disciple what He seemed to refuse to the eminent holiness of his master.

After overcoming difficulties and making wide circuits, we at last reached the cave, where this glorious Father of the anchorites presented to God the continual sacrifice of his life, and where we hoped to be able to offer the Holy Sacrifice of our altars. The cave is a natural hollow in the rock. One can enter by a cleft, of ten or twelve feet in height and about three in breadth. The hollow is a cave, dark and narrow, which has not the depth of more than twelve paces. A person could with difficulty extend himself there to take his repose. On one side of the cave is a kind of step, having mounted on which, one is able to hold up his arms on a projection of the stone, which serves to lean on. This step fronts the east, and, according to tradition, it served for an oratory, where the saint, in a standing posture, passed his days and the greater part of his nights in prayer.

We arranged ourselves in this solitary place, which inspires devotion, to commence the Holy Mass, when Father Synnodius presented me with the wine he had brought. The color and smell at once attracted my attention, and I asked him "what kind of wine it was." "It is," he answered me, "the wine of Ab-rèkè." "What is this wine which you offer me?" I

replied. "It is not the kind of wine required for the sacrifice of the Holy Mass." In fact, this pretended wine is nothing but an extract which our Copts derive from the dried raisins which they import from Greece, and which they soak in water to draw out this wine, which they call *Abrèkè*, which, translated from the Arabic, means *Benediction*. It is sweeter than any other kind of wine, and we had no other to use at the altar. I contented myself, therefore, with saying to him "that this wine could not form the material for the Sacrament."

We offered up our prayers in this place of devotion, and then descended from the mountain, like Abraham, without having consummated the sacrifice which we had hoped to offer to the Lord.

Father Synnodius directed our attention to two little caves, which are above the cell of Saint Anthony, and which are ten or twelve yards distant from it. They are so steep and the hill leading to them so rough that none of us were willing to run the risk of mounting to them. They said that Saint Anthony often retreated thither to conceal himself from the eyes of men, who came from a great distance to seek him for consultation.

Before our return to the monastery, we visited the quarry of yellow marble, which I have already mentioned. We found there a quantity of large masses, which appeared to have been cut out a long while ago.

We at length went back to the monastery, which I had hardly reached when I went in search of Father

Synnodius, with my New Testament in my hand. I caused him to read the twenty-sixth chapter of Saint Matthew, where the Evangelist narrates the circumstances under which the Saviour of the world, through His exceeding love for us, instituted the Divine Eucharist, under the elements of bread and wine, such as comes from the vine. I pointed out particularly to him this act of Jesus Christ, giving to His disciples, under the form of the one and of the other, His body to eat and His blood to drink, as through the Council of Florence the Universal Church has declared that our bread and our common wine, the substance of which was miraculously changed by the sacramental words into the proper substance of the body and blood of our Saviour, must be the necessary material for the Sacrament ; from whence I concluded that their pretended wine, consisting more of water than wine, could not form the sufficient material for the sacrifice of our altars.

When Father Synnodius seemed to me sufficiently convinced by these proofs, I took occasion to bring before him, on other points, the Catholic doctrine, so contrary to schismatic opinions ; but schism has this evil, that it blinds the intellect, hardens the heart, and prevents both from yielding, even in those matters which appear the most evident. I therefore did not know what I could hope from my interview with this schismatical monk.

If I can judge by the marks of affection and confidence which he bestowed upon me, I might form a more favorable opinion of it than I really have been

able to entertain. He made every effort possible to induce us to defer our departure. But, being obliged to return to Cairo, we took leave of him and of the monks.

After having left them, we entered on the plain of Araba, where we passed an uncomfortable night. The next day we continued our journey. At sunrise we saw the gazelles, which were frisking on the sand. But what chiefly attracted my attention was an infinite number of pebbles which covered the road for the distance of two short leagues. Among these pebbles were some red and gray, and some blue and black. The surface exposed to the air was in waving lines, standing out in relief as a tissue of embroidery. The side towards the ground was smooth.

If this matter were important enough to inquire into the cause, I should say that the nitre of the ground, melted by the dew, attached itself to the exterior of these pebbles; afterwards the agitation of the air insensibly carried to the surface of these pebbles the lightest particles of nitre, and formed the furrows, which the heat of the sun changed to stone.

Traversing the length of the plain of Araba, we reached Mount Keleil, where we went on foot to gather plants through the bed of a torrent, which is dry during the summer, and which contains a large variety of herbs, of which we make great use in Europe. We laid in a supply of these to take to Cairo. On our journey we saw a lizard, called *ouaral*, which our camel-drivers pursued, but it escaped into its hole. This animal resembles the crocodile; except that it is

much smaller, not exceeding three or four feet in length, and that it lives in the ground. As it is fond of the milk of goats and sheep, it resorts to an expedient to procure it. It twines itself firmly by its long tail about the legs of the goat or sheep, and then sucks entirely at its ease.

Having crossed Mount Keleil, we entered on the plain of Baquara. There we passed the night, and the next day reached Bañad. From Bañad we went to Benisonet, which is on the other side of the Nile. This we crossed in a boat ; for on the Nile, whether in Egypt, in Nubia, or in Fongi, no bridges are to be found. The only ones built have been over some little branches of the Nile, which are filled with water in times of inundations.

At Benisonet we found the Bishop of Bhénessé, who is named Amba Ibrahim. He received us in a friendly manner, although a Copt ; which is synonymous with saying that he is prejudiced against the Franks, and riveted in his superstitions and schismatical opinions.

After a rest of one day we embarked on the Nile to return to Cairo, which we reached in safety. Our first act on our arrival was to go and return thanks to God for all the blessings we had received from Him during our journey through the desert.

XIII.

THE PARAGUAY MISSION.

1726.

[FROM the worn-out, stagnant life of the East, we turn to the forests of Paraguay, and those ceaseless labors which contrast so strangely with the dreary existence of the Egyptian monks, as they droned away their days in an unending round of services.

About the middle of the seventeenth century, this South American Mission was founded. Among its earliest laborers, perhaps, the name of Lucas Cavallero was best known for a spirit which resembled that of Xavier. For years his untiring labors went on, breaking up the fallow ground, penetrating where none had gone before him, discouraged by no failure, and turned back by no persecution. Others came at last to his aid; and, as the magnitude of the field became known, there was no lack of those who were "baptized for the dead," and pressed forward to take the places of those who had fallen in the conflict. Thus years passed by like a dream; but if the Jesuit could point to no apparent successes achieved, and his pathway was marked by the graves of those who had been his fellow-laborers, still he knew it was not in vain, and he pressed on. He was only part of a mighty system, and it mattered not what befell him; the Great Cause to which he was vowed would one day go on "from conquering to conquer." "I have not passed one unhappy day since my coming to this painful mission," writes one, in the midst of privations under which we should suppose human nature would sink.

But the hour of triumph, for which they had struggled even unto blood, came at last. By their efforts the faith was preached

through all those vast provinces which are watered by the tributaries of the Paraguay and the great river of the Amazons. Most of the early laborers, indeed, rested in their bloody graves, and the cross reared above them in the forest seemed their only memorial. Yet it was not so. In the year 1717, in the single province of Guaiara alone, between the rivers Parana and Uruguay, were thirty-two populous settlements, with more than a hundred thousand Indians baptized by the Fathers of the Society, while many others existed between the Uruguay and the sea. All these, for the next century, were centres of light to the heathen tribes around.

There is a feeling developed in the following letter which shows the severest trial which awaited these first laborers in the field. They had come out from their distant homes, prepared for persecution and physical suffering, and even martyrdom. But there was a trial worse than these. It was the difficulty of raising that dark veil which shrouded the mind of the savage, and causing him to appreciate the claims of a higher life. It seemed often as if no words could break through the desolate gloom which surrounded him. And, then, more bitter still was the fickle nature of those for whom he labored. When it appeared to the missionary that success was about to crown his efforts and the blood gushed more warmly about his heart, perhaps on the morrow all seemed undone, and his hoped-for converts received him with scornful or derisive words. These were discouragements which awaited the pioneers in the field, but of which the second generation of missionaries knew but little.

To the labors of these earnest men, like him we have mentioned, with Ancieta and Nobrega and Bareze, the followers of every form of Christian faith have freely awarded their meed of praise. In truth, we should pity him who could read the record of their strivings even unto death without a quickening pulse. They "sought not their own," and, whatever may have been their errors, in their deep devotedness they followed in the footsteps of their Lord. It is to them that Southey pays his tribute, in his "*Tale of Paraguay*:" —

“ The happier sons of Paraguay,
 By gentleness and pious art subdued,
 Bow'd their meek heads beneath the Jesuit's sway,
 And lived and died in filial servitude.
 They on the Jesuit, who was nothing loath,
 Reposed alike their conscience and their cares ;
 And he, with equal faith, the trust of both
 Accepted and discharged. The bliss is theirs
 Of that entire dependence that prepares
 Entire submission, let what may befall ;
 And his whole course of life declares
 That for their good he holds them thus in thrall,
 Their Father and their Friend, Priest, Ruler, all in **all**.
 Food, raiment, shelter, safety, he provides ;
 No forecast, no anxieties have they ;
 The Jesuit governs, and instructs and guides ;
 Their part it is to honor and obey,
 Like children under wise paternal sway.
 All thoughts and wishes are to him confess'd ;
 And when at length, in life's last, weary day,
 In sure and certain hope they sink to rest,
 By him their eyes are closed, by him their burial blest.”]

LETTER *on the new Missions in the Province of Paraguay,*
derived from the Spanish account of Father Jean-Patrice
Fernandez, of the Society of Jesus ; presented to the Serene
Prince of Asturias, in the year 1726, by the Father Ferome
Herran, Proctor of that Province, to Monsieur M.

MONSIEUR, — The Province of Paraguay is about
 six hundred leagues in length. It is divided into five
 governments and into as many dioceses, ruled by
 Bishops full of piety and zeal. It is in this province
 that the Missions to the Guaranis Indians have been
 established. You, doubtless, do not care that I should
 attempt to recount to you the history of this Mission

from its earliest times. It would be useless for me to endeavor to instruct you, as there has been a complete history written by Father Nicolas del Techo, who has labored for many years in these painful Missions, which was printed at Liége, in the year 1673.

In that work you will find an entire detail of all the sufferings and fatigues which it has cost the missionaries to pierce the almost impenetrable forests, to seek there, at the constant risk of their lives, the tribes scattered and wandering, entirely naked, in these dense thickets, perpetually at war with each other, having nothing about them human but the form, and differing but little from the tigers and wild beasts with which they live. You will see there the ardent zeal which inspired these Apostolic men to gain the hearts of these savages, to draw them from their dens and caverns, to change in some degree their natures, by collecting them in their villages, without which it was not possible to instruct them, and thus to adapt them to the claims of civilized life and the practices of religion ; in a word, to make them rational beings, and at last true Christians.

It is only necessary to remark that, when the history of which I have spoken was given to the public, there were but twenty-four Missions or villages established on the rivers Parana and Uruguay. But these Missions have since been increased by seven new ones, much more populous than the former on account of the multitudes of Indians who are daily converted to the faith, and who display to us, to the life, the piety, the disinterestedness, the innocence,

and the sanctity of the faithful in the early Church. There are sixteen on the banks of the Parana, and fifteen along the banks of the Uruguay. In the year 1717 there were in the different villages 121,161 Indians, all baptized by the hands of the missionaries.

These Missions having been established and regulated in a manner which excites to this day the admiration of the Governors and Bishops when they visited them, they extended their views towards the infinite numbers of other barbarous tribes which are spread over this vast continent and through those immense forests which are found between the river Paraguay and the kingdom of Peru.

At the sources of the rivers Guapay and Picolmayo, which empty at last into the great river Paraguay, and near the borders of Peru, we find the place of refuge of the Chiriguanes, who, about two centuries ago, abandoned the Province of Guayra, which was their native land. The frightful mountains which they inhabit extend for fifty leagues to the east of the city of Tarija, and more than a hundred to the north. And now we will relate the cause of this emigration.

During the time that the Kings of Castile and of Portugal were endeavoring to extend their rule in the West Indies, a brave Portuguese, full of zeal for the service of his master, King John II., wished to signalize his devotion by new discoveries. He left Brazil with three other Portuguese, equally brave, with whom he had associated himself; and, after having marched three hundred leagues into the country, he reached the banks of the river Paraguay. Here, having en-

gaged two thousand Indians to accompany him, he advanced more than five hundred leagues, and penetrated as far as the borders of the Empire of the Incas. After having amassed much gold and silver, he commenced his journey on his return to Brazil. There he expected to enjoy all the pleasures which his great fortune would enable him to procure. But it seemed he was ignorant of the disposition of the people with whom he was associated; for, while he was off his guard, he was cruelly massacred, and lost both his life and riches.

These savages, not doubting that an action so flagrant would draw upon them the Portuguese arms, thought rather to escape the chastisement which their perfidy merited, and so retired to the mountains, where they have since remained. They were scarcely four thousand in number when they penetrated thither, and to-day they count more than twenty thousand, who live there without fixed habitations, without law, without order, without humanity; wandering in troops in the forest; laying waste the neighboring nations, whose inhabitants they carry off, that they may drive them into their country, where they fatten them, as they do cattle in Europe, and, after some days, slaughter them, to feed on their flesh in the frequent feasts they give. They claim that they have destroyed or devoured more than a hundred and fifty thousand Indians.

It is true that, after the arrival of the Spaniards in Peru, — from which they are not far distant, — they by degrees broke off from the practice of this form

of barbarism, but their spirit is unchanged. They are always equally perfidious, treacherous, fickle, inconstant, and ferocious. To-day they are Christians and to-morrow they are apostates; having become again the most cruel enemies of the preachers of the Christian faith, and more obstinate than ever in their heathenism.

But the more inhuman and barbarous these nations were, so much the more was the zeal of the missionaries awakened to labor for their conversion. At the same time they flattered themselves that, if they were able to subject them to the yoke of the Gospel, the door would be open to them to the great Province of Chaco, and the communication would become more easy between the new Missions and the old ones to the Guaranis Indians.

It is about a century since the Fathers Emmanuel de Ortega, Martin del Campo, and Didaque Martinez generously exposed their lives in devoting themselves to so barbarous a people, with the design of humanizing them by degrees, and disposing them to be instructed in the truths of revelation. But their labors were entirely in vain.

Other missionaries at different times succeeded them, one after the other, and undertook their conversion, with the same courage, but with as little success; and, although this land has been watered by the blood of these Apostolic men, it has never shown any fertility.

At length, scarcely five years ago, in a glimmer of hope that these Indians would be found more teachable, three new missionaries entered their country.

The only fruit of this so recent enterprise was to procure a glorious death for the venerable Father Lizardi, who expired under a cloud of arrows which these savages discharged against him.

For a long time before this last attempt, we had ceased to cultivate a land so ungrateful, as it was only destroying the laborers, and losing time which might be much better employed among other tribes, more teachable, though perhaps equally barbarous. They turned, then, to the side of the Province of the Chiquites. This region contains a large number of numerous tribes, whom the Spaniards have named Chiquites, only because the door of their cabins is low and very small, so that they are not able to enter but by gliding in and shrinking themselves up. They use dwellings of this kind to keep out the mosquitoes and other troublesome insects, with which the country is infested, particularly in the rainy season.

It was towards the close of the last century that Father Joseph de Arce abandoned the Chiriguanes, in accordance with the orders he had received from his Superiors, and, by almost impracticable roads, entered the country of the Chiquites. There, after having collected a number of Indians whom he had sought in the forests with incredible fatigues, he established a large settlement, to which he gave the name of Saint Xavier. His zeal was immediately seconded by Father de Zea and other missionaries, who came to share his labors; and in the year 1726 he counted already in these barbarous lands six large villages of Indians converted to the faith.

In the same year of 1726, he resolved to penetrate towards the south, into the country of the Zamucos, where he had well-founded hopes to establish a new village of the people of that nation, and of their neighbors the Vgaranos, who together numbered more than twenty-four hundred Indians. This settlement was to be placed under the protection of Saint Ignatius.

You can well imagine, Monsieur, to what labors an evangelical laborer must give himself up, to go in search of these savages in their mountains. "While I was in Europe," writes one of these missionaries, "I thought it would be sufficient to carry into this missionary field a great zeal for the conversion of souls; but, since I have had the happiness to be there, I have learned that it is necessary also to be exercised for a long while in the inward denial of self, in an entire separation from all things here below, in the mortification of the senses, in a contempt for life, and in the entire surrender of myself the hands of Providence."

At each settlement, when the number of Indians is great, there are ordinarily two missionaries occupied in civilizing and instructing the neophytes in Christian truths. One of them, each year, makes excursions of thirty and forty leagues in length to the residence of the savage tribes, to gain them to Jesus Christ, and to draw them to the settlement. He departs with nothing but his breviary under his left arm, and a large cross in his right hand, with no other provision but his confidence in God and what he can

find on his route. He is accompanied by twenty or thirty Christian converts, who act as guides and interpreters, and who sometimes discharge the duty of preachers. With their aid, with a hatchet in his hand, he opens for himself a passage through the dense forests. If he finds himself (which often happens) on the borders of lakes and marshy grounds which have to be passed, he is the one who always, with the water to his waist, marches at their head, by his example encouraging them to follow him. He is the first to climb the steep rocks and precipices. He is the first to penetrate into caves, at the risk of finding there wild beasts, instead of the Indians whom he seeks.¹

In the midst of these fatigues he has often, for his entire support, only some handfuls of Indian corn, some roots, or some wild fruits which they call *mo-taqui*. Often, to quench his thirst, he can find nothing but the dew gathered from the leaves of trees. At night he sleeps in a hammock suspended from the trees. I do not speak of the constant danger of losing his life by the hands of the Indians who are sometimes in ambush, armed with arrows and clubs,

¹ "Behold him on his way! the Breviary
Which from his girdle hangs, his only shield.
That well-known habit is his panoply;
That Cross, the only weapon he will wield.
By day, he bears it for his staff afield;
By night, it is the pillow of his bed.
No other lodging these wild woods can yield
Than Earth's hard lap, and, rustling overhead,
A canopy of deep and tangled boughs far spread."

Southey's Tale of Paraguay.

to beat to death the unwary who come into their country, and whom they regard as their enemies.

We must acknowledge, however, the particular protection of God, who watched for their safety and for the wants of the missionaries. It happened more than once, when they found themselves reduced to an extreme necessity, that the game and the fish came, as it were, of themselves, to present themselves to the Indians who formed their party. At other times, when the savages were most excited against the missionary who had placed himself in their power, they suddenly changed their cruel resolutions, or their strength left them at the instant, and their enfeebled arms were not able to discharge their arrows.

But, however painful and however dangerous might be these journeys, the Gospel laborer found himself fully recompensed for his pains and sufferings when he returned in triumph to the settlement, accompanied by three or four hundred Indians ; with the hope of gaining, in the next year, many more, who, more defiant, and fearing they had come to surprise them to make them slaves, will not surrender themselves before they have sent some of their people to see what was taking place in the settlement, and to return and give them an account. What consolation for him to find himself again in the midst of his dear neophytes, whose number has been increased by these cares, and to be again in the place where, by the pious liberality of persons who have interested themselves in the conversion of so many savage tribes, he has an opportunity of recruiting his strength, to apply himself with new zeal to their instruction !

It is certain that these labors surpassed human strength, and that it would not have been possible to sustain them if one had not been upheld by a Divine Power. It is not less astonishing that, among all the great number of missionaries who toiled for so many years in these laborious missions, we can count but three or four who were broken down by the fatigues; and the greater part, after having labored for twenty-five or thirty years, retained as much strength and vigor as those who in Europe enjoyed all the conveniences of life. Such was Father Jean Baptiste de Zea, who passed the greater part of his life in teaching these savage tribes, and who, at the age of sixty-five years, did not appear to be more than forty.

The ferocity of these people, and the extraordinary pains it was necessary to take to subject them to the yoke of the Gospel, were not sufficient to repulse a man of true Apostolic spirit. Such an one, however, found in that country other obstacles, to vanquish which gave him greater trouble, and sensibly wore upon his spirit.

The first obstacle came from the Spaniards, whose settlements were not far distant from these Indian tribes whose conversion we had undertaken. Although in general the Spanish nation has distinguished itself among other nations by its piety and its sincere attachment to the Faith, still it cannot be disguised that, in the multitude of members of which it is composed, some are found, as elsewhere, whose lives are but little regulated, and whose criminal actions are at variance with the sanctity of their religion.

The neighborhood of these Spanish settlements attracted the Indians to them for their petty trading; and, as those gross spirits are more susceptible of bad than of good impressions, they paid attention only to the disorders of which they were witnesses, and which, on their return, they imparted to their countrymen. The result was, that when the missionary explained to them the points of the Christian Faith where they had incurred their reprimands by their neglect of certain articles of this law, they replied, "You treat us with too much severity. Why do you prohibit us, who are new Christians, from what is permitted those of your nation who were born and have grown old in the bosom of Christianity?"

Whatever forcible arguments one might employ to refute this false reasoning, an equally strong prejudice, seconded by their natural tendency to vice, had taken such an entire control of their spirits, that it was with the greatest possible difficulty we could uproot it. It was for this reason that we removed the settlements of the neophytes as far as possible from the Spanish villages. For the same reason, in more than one reign, the kings of Spain have issued the most severe ordinances, by which they have forbidden any Spaniard to put his foot within the old settlements of the Guaranis Indians, with the exception of the governor and the ecclesiastical prelates, who by the duties of their office were obliged to make the visits.

The spirit of interest and of unbounded craving to enrich themselves, which prevails among some of the

merchants, was another obstacle very prejudicial to the progress of the faith. These men, insatiable in their pursuit of riches, entered the Indian territory by force of arms, pitilessly killed those who offered any resistance, and carried off others, even going so far as to snatch infants from their mothers' breasts; and then they conducted to Peru this crowd of unhappy beings, bound and fettered, where they used them as beasts of burden in the mines, and for the most painful labors, or otherwise sold them in the public markets.

To authorize this unworthy traffic, they published that the Indians had nothing human about them but the form; that they were in reality brutes, destitute of reason and incapable of being admitted to Baptism or to the other Sacraments. These calumnious reports were spread with so much effect, and produced so much scandal with regard to these good people, that the holy Bishops, and, among others, the Lord Juan de Garcez, Bishop of Hazcala, informed Pope Paul III. of it, who declared by a special bull that these Indians were rational beings, whom they ought to instruct in the truths of Christianity as other nations of the world, and administer to them the Sacraments. *Indos ipsos, utpote veros homines, non solum Christianæ fidei capaces existere decernimus et declaramus, etc.*

The Catholic kings could not learn without indignation of excesses so flagrant and so contrary to humanity. They forbade this iniquitous commerce by frequent edicts, under the most severe penalties. They ordered, under the same penalties, that these Indians should be gathered in and incorporated under

the Crown ; that they should be regarded and treated in the same manner as the rest of their subjects, with express injunction to the viceroys and the governors to enforce the execution of these edicts, and to render an account to the Court.

Notwithstanding these repeated ordinances, which were as yet quite recent when we began establishing the first settlements among the Chiquites, a company of European merchants was organized in Peru to engage in this abominable traffic. The Father de Arce, whom we regard as the founder of these new Missions, was a man whom neither fear nor any other human consideration could hold back when he could do any thing for the cause of God. Not being able to endure that his ministry should be thus troubled and that any one should violate with impunity the most sacred laws of humanity and religion, he complained bitterly to the Council of Chuquisaca of the infraction of these royal ordinances.¹

¹ . . . “ in fact, though not in name a slave,
 The Indian from his family was torn ;
 And droves on droves were sent to find a grave
 In woods and swamps, by toil severe outworn,
 No friend at hand to succor or to mourn,
 In death unpitied, as in life unblest'd.
 Often had kings essayed to check the ill
 By edicts not so well enforced as meant ;
 A present power was wanting to fulfil
 Remote authority's severe intent.
 To Avarice, on its present purpose bent,
 The voice of distant Justice spake in vain ;
 False magistrates and priests their influence lent,
 The accursed thing for lucre to maintain :
 O fatal thirst of gold ! O foul reproach for Spain ! ”

The merchants were sustained and patronized by an individual of great riches and high reputation, and the tribunal, through a false fear of causing trouble, closed its eyes on this great disorder. It had not even sufficient force to make any enactments, but contented itself with referring the whole affair to the viceroy of Peru, who is at the same time Captain-General of all these provinces. At that time the office was held by the Prince of Santo Bueno.

This nobleman, under the full influence of religion and piety, at once took the most efficacious and prompt measures to remedy the evil. He sent his orders, which prescribed confiscation of all their property and banishment from the province, for any who should henceforth dare to undertake any enterprise against the liberty of these Indians; and the governors who should tolerate so criminal an abuse he condemned to be entirely deprived of their charge and subjected to a fine of twelve thousand piastres. These orders, so exact, at once put an end to this infamous traffic, and the Indians in a more peaceful state were delivered from all vexation.

Another obstacle much more prejudicial to the conversion of these heathen tribes, and which continually thwarted the zeal of the missionaries, was presented by the Mamelus of Brazil. Perhaps you have never heard those people mentioned; and it would be well, therefore, Monsieur, to inform you with regard to them.

At the time the Portuguese made the conquest of Brazil, they established there many colonies, one

among which they named Piratiningua, or, as others called it, the village of St. Paul. Its inhabitants, not having any European females with them, took Indian women to their homes. The mixture of this vile blood with the noble Portuguese blood produced children who, in process of time, degenerated, and whose inclinations and sentiments were entirely opposed to the candor, the generosity, and the other virtues of the Portuguese nation. Little by little they fell into such disrepute by the dissoluteness of their habits that the neighboring towns were thought to ruin their reputation if they continued to have any communication with the town of St. Paul; and, although the inhabitants had originally been Portuguese, they judged them unworthy to bear a name which they dishonored by their infamous actions, and they called them Mamelus.

For a time they remained faithful to their God and their religion, through the care of Father Anchieta and his companions, who had a college founded in this village; but finding the Fathers a serious obstacle in the way of their disorders, they adopted the course of breaking it up, and, to free themselves from these importunate censors of their vices, they drove them from the town. In their place they took into favor the dregs of all nations, and their village presently became the asylum and the lurking-place of crowds of brigands — Italians, Dutch, Spanish, &c. — who in Europe had escaped the merited punishment of their crimes, or who sought to live there with impunity a life of licentiousness. The balminess of the

climate and the fertility of the soil, which furnished all the necessaries of life, served to increase still more their propensity to every kind of vice.

However, it was not easy to conquer them. Their town is situated within three leagues of the sea, on a steep rock surrounded by precipices, and could only be approached by a very narrow pathway, where a handful of men could hold a large army in check. At the base of the mountain are some villages inhabited by merchants, through whom they do their trading. This fortunate situation fostered in them the spirit of independence, so that they were obedient to the laws and ordinances of the throne of Portugal as long as they were in accordance with their interests, and it was only in a case of pressing necessity that they had recourse to the protection of the king.

These brigands, the greater part without faith or law, and who could be restrained by no authority, spread themselves like a torrent of licentiousness over the countries of the Indians, who, having nothing but arrows to oppose to their muskets, could make but a feeble resistance. They carried off a large number of these unhappy beings to reduce them to the most severe servitude. They pretend (what is scarcely credible) that in the space of one hundred and thirty years they have destroyed or made slaves of two millions of Indians, and that they have depopulated more than a thousand leagues of country, as far as the river Amazons. The terror which they spread among these people has rendered them more savage than they were before, and forced them either to conceal

themselves in the caves and hollows of the mountains, or to disperse themselves, on the one side and the other, through the most gloomy passages of the forests.

The Mamelus, seeing that by this dispersion their prey had escaped their hands, had recourse to a most diabolical expedient, the evil effects of which the missionaries feel to this day, in the mistrust it has created in the minds of these tribes. They imitated the course pursued by these Apostolical men in winning these savages to Jesus Christ. Three or four of these Mamelus disguised themselves as Jesuits ; one of them taking the title of the Superior, and the others calling themselves *Payguasú*, which, in the Guaranis language, signifies Great Father. They erected a large cross, and displayed to the Indians the images of our Lord and the Holy Virgin. They made them presents of many of those trifles which these people value, and persuaded them to leave their miserable retreats, to join with other tribes in forming one large village where they should be in greater security. After they had gathered a large number, they amused them until the arrival of their troops, when they attacked these miserable beings, placed them in irons, and conducted them into their colony.

The first attempts of these brigands were against the Christian village which had been established at the sources of the Paraguay River, in the province of Guayra ; but they did not retain any great advantages from the quantity of slaves they had captured there. We have seen an authentic register, in which it is stated that of three hundred thousand Indians they

had enslaved in the course of five years, there were not twenty thousand remaining. These unfortunate beings almost entirely perished, either from the exposure of the journey or the bad treatment they received from their pitiless masters, who overwhelmed them with labors, either in the mines or the cultivation of the ground, depriving them of the necessary food, and often causing them to sink under the blows they inflicted on them.

The fury with which these Mamelus desolated the Christian villages obliged the missionaries to save what remained of the neophytes, and to transport them to the banks of the rivers Parana and Uruguay, where they are now established in thirty-one villages. Although separated so far from their cruel enemies, they did not find themselves safe from their frequent incursions. Their hostilities, however, have at length ceased, since the King of Spain has permitted to the neophytes the use of arms, and each village has drilled a certain number in military exercises. These Indians, in their turn, have rendered themselves feared, and they have gained many victories over the Mamelus.

The diversity of languages among these different tribes is another obstacle most difficult to surmount, and which requires great exercise of patience and virtue with those evangelical laborers. It is difficult to believe that each step one finds little villages of one hundred families or more, whose language has no agreement with that of the people who surround them. When, by order of King Philippe IV., the Fathers d'Acugna and de Artieda made a tour of all

the nations which are on the banks of the river Amazons, they found at least a hundred and fifty languages, differing more widely from each other than the Spanish does from the French. In the villages established among the Maxes, where there are thirty thousand Indians converted to the faith, they speak fifteen varieties of language which bear no resemblance to each other. In the new villages of the Chiquites, there are neophytes speaking three or four different languages. It is for this reason, that in order that the instruction may be uniform, we take care they shall all learn the language of the Chiquites.

When one advances farther among the different tribes, it becomes necessary to accommodate one's self to their language. Thus, the new missionaries, besides the language of the Chiquites, are obliged to learn also that of the Morotocos, which is in use among the Zamucos Indians, and that of the Guarayens, which is the same that they speak in the old Missions of the Guaranis Indians.

You must acknowledge, Monsieur, that it is necessary to be armed with strong courage to bear up against such great difficulties, and to be animated by a lively zeal to contend against such formidable pains and dangers. But a missionary is well compensated and soon forgets his fatigues, when he has the consolation of seeing all the Christian virtues practised with fervor by men who, a little time before, had scarcely any thing about them that was human, and who were only occupied in satisfying their brutal appetites. It is only necessary to hear the language of these Apostolical men.

“It is nothing,” said one of them, “that I should suffer voluntarily for the sake of those Indians, when we are witnesses of the docility of our neophytes, the ardor and attachment they manifest for every thing which concerns the service of God, and their faithful obedience to all the requirements of the Christian law. They have entirely severed themselves from fraud, robbery, intemperance, revenge, impurity, and many other vices which are firmly rooted in the heart of these heathen nations. There is no spirit of selfishness among them, and with this vice how many others are banished! I dare to assure you, without the fear that I should be accused of extravagance, that these men, abandoned formerly to the grossest vices, years after their conversion recalled to me the innocence and holiness of the primitive Christians.”

“It would be difficult for me to describe to you,” said another missionary, “with what assiduity and ardor they assist at all the exercises of devotion. They have a singular aptitude in learning to explain the truths of religion, and these truths awaken in their hearts the most profound sentiments of penitence.”

It is the custom at the Missions, when the sermon is finished, to pronounce, in a loud voice, an Act of Contrition, which sets forth the motives most powerful to awaken sorrow at having offended God, and during this time the church resounds with their sighs and sobbings. This vivid repentance of their sins is generally followed by austerities and macerations, which they would carry to an excess if we did not take care to moderate them.

It is, above all, at the Tribunal of Penitence that I could fully appreciate their delicacy of conscience. They were even dissolved in tears while accusing themselves of faults so trifling that I could often doubt whether they formed a fit subject for absolution. If they accidentally committed any sin, although the most inconsiderable, they immediately quitted their occupation, no matter how pressing, to repair to the church, and purify themselves by the Sacrament of Penance.

In each village we made choice of some neophytes, who were the oldest and most respected, to preserve good order. Some among them were charged with guarding the conduct and manners of the other neophytes ; for we cannot but believe that in so great a multitude some could be found who would fall away in conduct. If they discovered, what was exceedingly rare, that some one had committed a scandalous sin, they clothed him in the penitential dress, and conducted him to the church, publicly to ask pardon for his sin, and they imposed on him a severe penance. Not only did the guilty submit to this reparation with docility, but we have sometimes seen others, and even the catechumens, after having committed secretly the same fault which was known only to themselves, to come publicly and accuse themselves of it with tears, praying with importunity that they might have the same penance imposed on themselves.

When we admitted them to the Feast of the Eucharist, they did not approach it until long and fervent preparation, and they studied to preserve the fruit of

the grace they had received. When, some time after, we asked them if they had not fallen into the same sins of which they had accused themselves before Communion, they were surprised that any one should put to them such a question. "How could it happen," they replied, "that, after having been nourished by the body of Jesus Christ, one could fall into the same faults?"

Three times a day, at morning, mid-day, and in the evening, all the young assembled to chant in two choirs the most devout prayers, and to repeat the instructions which had been given them in the Christian doctrines. Nothing can be more edifying than the quietness and modesty with which they assist at the services of Sunday and the festivals. When they go to their labor in the morning, and when they return to the village in the evening, they never fail to adore the Holy Sacrament and to salute the Holy Virgin, whom they regard as their Mother, and for whom they have the most tender devotion. They celebrate her festivals with pomp and the music of their instruments; and they are scrupulous to commence no action without first making the sign of the Cross.

At twilight, and when they cease from their work, all the streets of the village resound with the pious songs which the young boys and girls chant, while the men and the women separately recite the Rosary in two choirs.

It is, above all, in the grand solemnities that their piety shows forth to the greatest advantage. During

the time set apart in the Church to recall the remembrance of the sufferings of the Saviour in His Passion, they endeavor to represent its entire history, and to give an outward expression to the feelings of penitence and compassion with which they are penetrated. On the evening of Holy Thursday, after having listened to a sermon on the Passion, they go in procession to a kind of Mount Calvary. Some bear a heavy cross upon their shoulders; others have their foreheads encircled with crowns of thorns; they march thither with their arms extended in the form of a cross. Many practise other acts of penitence; while the march is closed by a long procession of children, who walk two and two, and carry in their hands the different instruments of our Lord's suffering. When they arrive at Mount Calvary, they prostrate themselves at the foot of the Cross; and, after having renewed their different acts of contrition, of love, of hope, &c., they make a public declaration of their inviolable fidelity to the service of God.

When the Festival of Corpus-Christi approaches, they prepare themselves some days beforehand to celebrate it with all the splendor that their poverty allows. They go to the chase, and kill as many birds and wild beasts as possible. They ornament the front of their habitations with branches of palms, skilfully intermingled with other kinds of branches, with borders of the most beautiful flowers of their gardens, and feathers of different colors. They arrange triumphal arches at certain distances one from the other, which, although rural, do not fail to be very

pleasing. They strew leaves and flowers in all the streets through which the Holy Sacrament must pass, and they place at intervals the animals they have killed, such as stags, tigers, and lions, to show in this way that all creatures must pay homage to the Sovereign Master of the universe who made them. Opposite to their residence they expose to view Indian corn and other grains with which they intend to sow their fields, that the Lord may bless them as He passes. In fine, by the modesty and piety with which they follow in the procession, they give the most genuine testimony of their faith towards this great mystery of the love of God for men. Many of the heathen in the neighborhood, whom they usually invite to assist in this ceremony, touched by so religious a spectacle, have renounced their heathenism, asked to be settled in the village, and to be admitted into the ranks of the catechumens.

One thing which fills these good neophytes with a tender recognition of their Lord is the comparison they often make between the sweet liberty of the children of God, which they enjoy, and the ferocious and brutal life which they lived under the tyrannical rule of the Devil. It is this also which inspires them with an ardent zeal to procure the same happiness for other heathen tribes, even for those towards whom they had inherited from their fathers and drawn in with their milk an implacable hatred.

Besides those who accompany the missionaries when they make their tours through the forests inhabited by so many of these savages, we can see

many more, each year, who, when the rainy season is over, spread themselves through all the neighboring lands to preach Jesus Christ to the heathen. The fatigues and dangers inseparable from excursions of this kind are not able to quench their zeal, but only seems to render it more ardent. Even death, suffered in this cause, becomes the object of their desires. We can count more than a hundred neophytes who have lost their lives in this work of love.

There prevails among them a holy emulation as to who shall be the instrument of converting the greatest number of heathen. The day when they return to the mission, accompanied by a large number of Indians whom they have gained to Jesus Christ, is a day of festival and public rejoicing. There are nothing but caresses and friendly offices which they heap on these new guests. Each one is eager to minister to their wants. A charity so beautiful in a short time sweeps away the natural love which they have for their native land ; and it is in this way that the old Missions increase and new ones are established.¹

¹ "On earth they offer'd, too, an easy life
To those who their mild lessons would obey,
Exempt from want, from danger, and from strife ;
And from the forest leading them away,
They placed them underneath the Virgin's sway,
A numerous fellowship, in peace to dwell ;
Their high and happy office there to pay
Devotions due, which she requited well,
Their heavenly Guardian she, in whatsoe'er befell.

"To this great family the Jesuit brought
His new-found children now ; for young and old

For a long time we had been seeking to open a way through that expanse of country which extends between the city of Tarija and the river Paraguay. It seemed as if nothing could be more important for the welfare of all these Missions ; for, this way being once opened, they could communicate with each other much more easily, and mutually render aid. Now, to reach the Missions of Paraguay, or those of the Guaranis or of the Chiquites, it is necessary to descend the river, even as far as Buenos Ayres, to traverse the whole Province of Tucuman, and to penetrate a long distance into Peru. Thus it happened that the Father Provincial was obliged to undergo the fatigue of a journey of twenty-five hundred leagues, in place of which the journey could have been shortened one half, if he could have taken the route across the countries which lie between the Missions of the Chiquites and those of Paraguay. It was an enterprise which had been often undertaken, but always failed.

Once, when we had penetrated some distance into these countries, we were stopped by the Indians, who, distrusting our object to discover the river Paraguay, opposed us with all their force, and obliged the missionaries to return. It happened, at length, that there

He deem'd alike his children, while he wrought
For their salvation, seeking to unfold
The saving mysteries in the Creed enroll'd,
To their slow minds that could but ill conceive
The import of the mighty truths he told.
But errors they had none to which to cleave,
And whatsoe'er he tells they willingly believe."

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was a catechumen of the same nation, who employed himself with so much energy and zeal among his countrymen that they determined to embrace the faith. We took advantage, therefore, of so favorable a conjuncture.

It was in the year 1702 that the Fathers Francois Hervas and Michel de Yegros set out, with the catechumen and forty Indians, without any other provision than their confidence in Divine Providence. This did not fail them; and, during the journey, hunting and fishing abundantly supplied them with all the subsistence that was necessary. They were very well received in three villages of the nation of the catechumen, the inhabitants of which had previously been opposed to their enterprise. Thus they freely pursued their journey, leaving behind them the catechumen, who had been wounded by a thorn which had entered his foot. They did not think that his hurt was at all dangerous; nevertheless, he died in a few days from the effects of his wound.

After very great difficulties, which these two missionaries encountered in making their way through the woods, in climbing high mountains, and passing lakes and swamps full of mire, without counting the disquietude and continual fear lest they should fall into the hands of the savages, they at last reached the banks of a river, which they supposed to be the Paraguay, or at least a branch of it, and there they planted a large cross. We discovered afterwards that they were mistaken, and what they took to be a river was only a great lake, which ended in a thick forest of palm-trees.

In the belief that they had discovered the road so greatly desired, Father Nugnez, who was then the Provincial, made choice of five of the former missionaries to the Guaranis to travel the length of the river Paraguay, and find on its bank the place where they had planted the Cross on the coast of the Chiquites. These missionaries were the Father Barthelemy Ximenes, who died, full of years and good works, July 2, 1717, Father Iean Baptiste de Zca, Father Joseph de Arce, Father Jean Baptiste Newman, Father François Hervas, and the Brother Sylvestre Gonzales. As the voyage which they made on this great river throws light on the geography of the different countries which it waters, I am going to give the journal which was kept by one of these missionaries : —

We set out — he says — on the 10th of May, 1703, from the port of our village of the Purification, whence, after having passed by Antigui, we landed, on the 27th of the same month, at Itati. The Father Gervais, a Franciscan, who was Curé of this borough, received us in the most courteous manner. Thence we continued our voyage towards the river Paramini, at the place where the Parana empties into the river Paraguay. The high winds which prevail there, and which were head winds for us, retarded us and caused us great fatigue ; so that we did not land at the port of the Assumption until the 27th of June, where we took a rest of four days at the college which we have in this village. We had prepared one large barque, four smaller ones, two piroques, and one canoe.

We embarked again; and, after having proceeded some leagues, we discovered at a little distance some canoes of the Payaguas Indians, who without doubt came on a voyage of discovery. We were very anxious to open communication with them, and to engage them, if it were possible, by some proofs of friendship which might induce them to lay aside their hostility. For this purpose Father Newman departed in the canoe with Brother Gonzales; but, when they had almost come up with the Indians, they took to flight, crying with all their strength,—*Pcè pèmonda, ore Camaranda Buenos Aircs, viarupi*. This means that we were not of their people, but of a nation living in the neighborhood of Buenos Ayres, who had caused so many Indians to perish.

Father Newman, seeing so little success resulting from his demonstrations, contented himself with landing on the bank of the river, and hanging on the branches of a tree some trifles of little value, but which are highly prized by these savages. These little presents, which they immediately secured, reassured them; and four of them approached one of our boats, and left there, in their turn, some mats of reeds which were very beautiful and of very delicate workmanship.

One of the neophytes, named Anicet, who acted as our interpreter, full of zeal for the conversion of the heathen, judged by the sensibility of these Payaguas that their soft and affable dispositions would make it easy to produce some impressions on their hearts. But he did not know how full these people

are of perfidy. On the 12th of July he approached some of these Indians who were in sight ; and, while he was seeking by little presents to gain their friendship, a large body of Payaguas, filling two canoes, came out of an ambuscade where they were concealed, and rushed up to Anicet and his companions, whom they beat to death with heavy blows of their clubs, and then at once fled with the greatest speed. We learned too late of this sad occurrence. Some of our Indians went to the place where this massacre had taken place, and there they found the dead bodies of their dear companions. The next day we celebrated their funeral rites, with the sweet hope that God would have mercy upon them, and would recompense the love with which they had exposed their lives to rescue these savages from the darkness of heathenism.

The Payaguas, seeing that we did not seek to inflict vengeance upon them for this so cruel action, became in consequence more audacious. They appeared the next day in great numbers in a prodigious quantity of canoes, formed into two squadrons. The one made for the bank, and all those who were in it landed. The others ranged about the shores of the river, without any of them daring to attack us. It was only under cover of the night that they cast stones and showered their arrows upon us. But our neophytes presently drove them to flight, and it was only at a great distance that they continued to watch us. It was a great blessing that they were not joined by the Guaicurus, another savage tribe, but much more brave and hardy, and naturally enemies of the Christian name.

It would have been difficult for us to have escaped the snares which they would have set for us in a river which, in this place, is covered with islands, where they could be easily concealed in ambush.

On the 6th of August we reached the mouth of the river Xexui. It is by this route that the Mamelus came to make their irruption on some of our ancient Missions, which they destroyed. On the 19th we approached the country of the Payaguas, the inhabitants of which had left it a little before to go to a large island that was opposite. This country belonged to a *cacique* of the Payaguas, named Jacayna, who kept there some of his vassals employed in the manufacture of canoes.

On the 21st we found a small fort surrounded by palisades, with three large crosses raised above it. At first, we thought that this must be the work of the Mamelus; but we subsequently found it was the Payaguas, who, having some idea of the virtue of the Cross, had erected those we saw, to deliver them from the multitude of tigers which infested the country. A little while afterwards, we saw on the bank twelve of these savages, who did not think of disturbing us; but what surprised us was, that about the 30th of August, when we arrived at the mouth of the river Tapotü, we saw there two canoes of the Guachicos Indians. The mouth of this river is distant thirty leagues from that of the Piray. But before arriving there, it is necessary to pass very rapid currents, which terminate in a long reef of rocks. We saw there twelve of this tribe, very tall and well formed, and having naturally a more agreeable manner than art

could give them. At this place the Guaicurus lighted their fires, to warn the neighboring tribes that they saw the enemy appearing.

At six leagues from thence is the Lake Nengetures, into which a river empties, which descends from the country inhabited by the Guamas. These people are in some sort the slaves of the Guaicurus. They make this the breeding-place for their mules and horses; they cultivate the earth and plant tobacco, which grows there in abundance. There are in this country many other tribes, and one among them named Lenguas, who speak the same language as the Chiquites.

Two leagues above the lake is the mouth of the Inboimboi. There was formerly near this river a Christian settlement, which was under the government of Father Christophile de Arenas and of Father Alphonse Arias. This last, having been sent for by the Guatos Indians to administer baptism, fell into the hands of a party of the Mamelus, who put him to death with blows of their muskets. Father Arenas had some time afterwards the same fate. He encountered the Mamelus, who abused him so badly that he survived his wounds only a few days.

From thence, as far as Xarayes, one sees only wide plains where the crops grow naturally and without cultivation; and thither the Payaguas, the Caracuras, and many other neighboring tribes, come to procure their provisions. On 22d of September we passed between the mountains of Cunayequa and of Ito, where is the residence of the Sinamacas. The faith

was preached to these tribes by the Fathers Juste Mansilla and Pierre Romero. These, with Brother Matthieu Fernandez, were afterwards massacred by the Chiriguanes on account of their hatred of the Christian law, because it forbade their having more than one wife.

Five leagues further on, we reached an island, to which two Cacequis, named Jarachacu and Orapichigua, had retired with their vassals, the Payaguas. As soon as they perceived us, they despatched six canoes to the large island of the Orejones ; and immediately we saw far and wide a great smoke rising, the signal which they ordinarily used to warn the neighboring tribes to be on their guard. These nations all make common cause with the Payaguas, because they furnish them with tobacco, skins, cloths, and other necessaries of life, which are in abundance where they live.

We afterwards passed near the mountains of Taraquipita. This country is inhabited by many Indian tribes. Four of our missionaries had preached the Gospel there : namely, Father Ignace Martenez, a Spaniard ; Father Nicolas Henard, a Frenchman ; and the Fathers Diego Ferrer and Juste Mansilla, Flemish. The first, after a time, departed for the Mission of the Chiriguanes ; and the two others sank under the fatigues and labors they endured, and died among these savages, deprived of all human consolation, as the great apostle of the Indies, Saint Francis Xavier, died on the Island of Sancian. The last for only a short time bore up against the same fatigues,

but finished his life in the exercise of his Apostolical duties.

After having gone eight leagues beyond the Tobati, we found ourselves at the mouth of the Mbotetei. It is by this river that the Mamelus had been accustomed to enter the river Paraguay. From thence one sees the vast plains which extend even to Xarayas. These were anciently inhabited by the Guaicurus and the Itatines; but these Indians, finding themselves continually exposed to the irruptions and the barbarity of the Mamelus, abandoned their country and took refuge in the thick forests, which extended from the Lake Jaragui to a distance of fifty leagues to the boundaries of Peru.

At last, on the 29th of September, we reached the place where the river Paraguay divides into two branches, and forms a large island. As we there found ourselves in the country of the Chiquites, we endeavored to discover the Cross which our two missionaries had erected the preceding year.

On the 12th of October, having cast anchor, we saw some Payaguas, who, although intimidated by a sight of our Indians, did not fail to approach us and offered us the fruits of their country. We responded to this courtesy by some small presents we made them.

On the 17th we cast anchor in sight of Lake Jaragui, which is in part hidden from view among the woods and mountains, as far as the Orejones. The plains on either side of the river are filled with dwellings of the Indians. They are more numerous on the left

side, because the marshes and lakes by which they are surrounded render them in some sort inaccessible, and protect these tribes from the incursions of the Mamelus.

On the 18th, having left Lake Tuquis on the right, we reached the mouth of the river Paraiguazu, which discharges its waters with great force. A little farther we encountered a canoe, in which was a young Indian, well formed and robust. He was not afraid of coming to our barque. We gave him some evidences of friendship; and although he knew nothing of our language, and we nothing of his, yet he was able to make us understand by signs that he was of the Mbiritu tribe, and that it was three days' journey to his village. We saw the attachment he had formed for us, by the pain with which he left us. We therefore invited him to come into our boat. He accepted the offer with evident pleasure, and came aboard with his arms and his mat, which was of very delicate workmanship. He regaled our Indians with a large *capivara* which he had killed. This is a river hog, very similar to a land hog. Seeing, at the end of three days, that we sailed along the length of the river, so as not to lose ourselves among the islands which covered it, he took leave of us, with the promise that he would shortly rejoin us. He received with thankfulness some little presents which we gave him to present to the *cacique* and the principal men of his tribe. This Indian kept his promise, and was not very long in returning; but, wishing to cross a branch of the river during a stormy time, he was wrecked in our

sight. He was saved from the danger he ran, by falling into the hands of the Payaguas, who caused him to be conducted to his village.

At last, on the 31st of October, we entered the famous lake of Xarayes, into which many navigable rivers fall. It is commonly supposed that in this lake the river Paraguay takes its rise. At the entrance of the lake is situated the famous island of the Orejones, where there was formerly a very numerous nation, which has been destroyed by the Mamelus. The climate of this island is temperate and very healthy, although it is at the height of seventeen degrees and some minutes. According to common opinion, it extends forty leagues in length and ten in breadth. There are others there which are much larger. Its soil is fertile, although it is full of mountains, all covered with beautiful trees, adapted to use in all kinds of work.

During the month and a half that we were occupied on land and water in seeking for the Cross which had been set up, and which would indicate the road to the Missions among the Chiquites, all our efforts were in vain, and we did not discover the first vestige of it. In the meanwhile, the season was advancing; and there was fear lest, the river falling each day, our barque might be injured by the rocks which were concealed under the water. It was necessary, therefore, to think of a return, with the feeling of chagrin that we had taken so much pains with so little result. Some of our missionaries, however, petitioned the Father Superior that he would leave them on the island, where,

during the winter, they could make new efforts to succeed in this discovery ; but the prospect of success was so uncertain, and the risk so great, that, after having praised their zeal, he declared that he could not assent to their wishes.

We therefore left this lake, which some of us named the Sweet Sea. But since, as we have already intimated, we had entered on the season when the river considerably diminishes, we were in constant fear of anchoring in shallow water, or of touching the rocks, which in some places are almost on a level with the surface of the water. Happily we made a hundred leagues without any accident.

We discovered three canoes, which came towards us by rowing, containing four Indians, one Payagua and three Guaranis, who had formerly received Baptism. As soon as they approached our barque, they sprang on board of it with much agility, and told us that they had determined to spend the rest of their days with us, whatever pain their desertion might give their *caciques*. In this last particular, however, they were mistaken, for the two *caciques* whose vassals they were, struck with the devotion with which they had abandoned their goods and their parents, to live in the strict observance of the Christian law, were impressed with the highest esteem for them and for the missionaries.

These two *caciques* joined our barque ; and having been received with confidence, as if they had been old acquaintances, seated themselves familiarly before the Father Superior. The Father, taking advantage

of their favorable dispositions, opened to them the importance of salvation, and the necessity of embracing the Christian faith, to gain it. He caused them to realize that, beyond the happiness they would secure in living as reasonable beings, in becoming the children of God and meriting an eternal recompense, they would pass their days more peaceably, since they would find in these villages of the Guaranis as many defenders as there were Christians. They would, therefore, have nothing to fear from the Mamelus or the Guaicurus, who now kept them in continual disquietude.

The *caciques*, who were very attentive to this address of the Father, seemed touched. They promised that they would cause their vassals to be instructed with regard to admission to baptism, and that they would use all their influence to induce the Guatos and Guacharapos Indians to unite with them in forming together a large settlement. To give us assurance of the sincerity of their promises, we prayed them to present to us some young Indians, whom they had made slaves, that we might instruct them in the truths of the faith, and enable them to serve us as interpreters. We offered them, in exchange, some pewter plates, some knives, some fish-hooks, some little articles of jet, and other things of that kind. They consented with a good grace; and we received six Indians of different tribes, whom we sent to one of our villages to be instructed.

At last, after renewed protestations of friendship on both sides, they left us, well satisfied with the hope

we had given them, that we would send some of our missionaries to their homes. In parting, they directed some of their vassals, who were very skilful fishermen, to follow us in their canoes, to use their nets each day and furnish us with an abundant supply of fish. This duty they punctually discharged, following us for one hundred and fifty leagues, and never suffering us to want. This succor came in a very timely way; for our supply of biscuit and maize was spoiled, and we were obliged to content ourselves with a single plate of beans each day.

Having reached the mouth of the river, where the zealous neophyte Anicet and his companions had been killed by the Payaguas, we deputed some of the same tribe, who were friendly to us, to go to these savages, and say to them that we had no feelings for them but those of peace and love; that our earnest desire was to procure their happiness in this life and after death; that they might try the experiment, if they wished to join us; that we were persuaded, if they had killed our Indians, it had been done less through hatred to them than through fear lest they should be used as a decoy for them; that, in fine, we pardoned what had passed, and only asked, as a full satisfaction, that they would surrender to us the Spaniards whom they held in slavery.

Our messengers acquitted themselves so well to these savages, that some of them came to us to ask pardon for the murder they had committed, and sent back to us a Spaniard whom they had held as a slave. They even assured us of their desire to unite in our

settlement, and to embrace the Christian faith. But at the very time they were giving us these assurances they were only endeavoring to deceive us ; for they protested to us that they had only this single Spaniard in slavery, while we afterwards discovered that they had three others. Our friendship having been renewed, some twenty of their canoes approached us in single file. One after another they mounted into our barque to receive the little presents we had for them. A little while afterwards their *caciques* came to bring us fruits, and to present us with a fine canoe.

Notwithstanding this, we did not feel that we could trust ourselves to this people, whose perfidy and inconstancy we had so often proved, and who never kept their faith except when it was for their own interests. It is a surprising fact that this nation, which scarcely counts four hundred men capable of bearing arms, has spread itself beyond the river Paraguay. One party overran more than two hundred leagues on the river, or in the country beyond the lake of the Xarayas. The other party roams without cessation towards the city of the Assumption, pillaging all who fall into their hands, making slaves of those whom they encounter, if they are not entirely on their guard against their ambushes ; or they league themselves with the Guaicurus, to attack the Spaniards with open force.

The wandering, vagabond life they lead is not as great an obstacle to their conversion as their perfidious and fickle character. They never remain long in the same place ; to-day on the main land, and to-morrow

on some island ; or they scatter themselves on the rivers. They could scarcely live in any other way, as they only subsist by the chase or by fishing, in which they cannot always engage in the same locality.

We quietly pursued our route, but on the 2d of September we had a narrow escape from death. A furious gale arose, which drove our barque on with violence, and caused it to strike on a succession of rocks. We supposed it would have been shattered into a thousand pieces, and there were a thousand chances of our perishing. Nevertheless, we escaped all injury. We thought we were indebted for our preservation to the special protection of the Holy Virgin, whom we invoked many times during that day.

After having escaped this danger and returned thanks to God and the Holy Virgin, our protectress, the Father Superior arranged that one of the boats should go ahead, with directions that it should raise all its sails and use all its power of oars, to make as much speed as possible, for the purpose of transporting to the city of the Assumption Father de Neuman, who was ill of a dysentery which had reduced him to an extremity.

For ourselves, it was not till the 17th that we arrived there. The governor of the city, all the nobility, and the people in crowds, came out to receive us as we landed from our boats, and insisted on conducting us to the College. It was only an hour after we reached there that Father de Neuman finished his course, and went to receive the recompense for his labors. The Canons of the Cathedral, the Ecclesi-

astics, the Religious Orders, and all the Incorporations of the city, honored the funeral rites with their presence, regarding him as a martyr to his love and zeal, which had always burned for the conversion of the heathen.

On the 9th we left the city of the Assumption, to return to our dear Missions among the Guaranis, where we arrived February 4th. Thus ended our voyage, which had lasted for nine months, and in which we had lost sixteen of the neophytes who accompanied us, who were carried off by the dysentery, and by the difficulty of procuring suitable provisions.

They have made other attempts to discover this road ; but they have had no other results than to procure for Fathers de Arce and Blende a glorious death. I am with respect, &c.

XIV.

THE EARTHQUAKE AT LIMA IN 1746.

[PROBABLY the earthquake at Lima, in the total ruin it produced, was one of the most severe ever experienced in a civilized land. It is well, then, to put on record this account, which Father Lozano received from the eye-witnesses and sufferers, and which becomes of interest in this day, when we so often hear the tidings of "earthquakes in divers places."]

Incidentally, we learn from this narrative how strong the Church of Rome must have been in that city; where, with a population of only sixty thousand people, there were sixty-four churches, most of them remarkable for the treasures in gold and silver which they contained.

By referring to the description of Lima in a previous article in this volume, written in 1746, it will be seen that the same catastrophe had happened in 1682. As in this case, the sea overflowed and engulfed the unfortunate city, so that for greater security it was rebuilt a quarter of a league inland.]

LETTER of *Father Pierre Lozano, of the Society of Jesus, of the Province of Paraguay, to Father Bruno Morales, of the same Society, at the Court of Madrid.*

At CORDOUE DE TUCUMAN, the 1st of March, 1747.

WE have received from Lima and from Callao news of the saddest character.

On the 28th of October, 1746, at half-past ten in the

evening, an earthquake was experienced at Lima, with so much violence that, in less than three minutes, the whole city has been overturned from top to bottom. This disaster was so sudden that no one had time to place himself in safety, and the ruin was so widespread that no one could shun the danger by flight. Only twenty-five houses remain standing ; nevertheless, by a special protection of Providence, out of sixty thousand inhabitants of this city, only the twelfth part perished, while those who have escaped are unable to tell to what they can ascribe their safety. Thus they regard it as a kind of miracle.

There are few examples in history of an occurrence so lamentable, and it is difficult for the most vivid imagination to conceive of such a calamity. Picture to yourselves all the churches destroyed, generally all the other edifices prostrated, and the twenty-five remaining houses which stood the shock so shattered that it will be necessary to take them entirely down. Of the two towers of the Cathedral, one has been thrown down as far as the arch of the nave ; the other, at the place where the bells are hung ; and all that remains is exceedingly damaged. These two towers in falling have crushed the arch and the chapels, and the whole church has been so overturned that it cannot be reconstructed without first being entirely demolished.

The same fate has befallen five magnificent churches belonging to the different Religious Orders. The greatest sufferers have been those of the Augustines and of the Fathers of Mercy. At our great College of Saint

Paul, the two towers of the church have been shattered from top to bottom, while the arch of the sacristy and a portion of the Chapel of Saint Ignatius have fallen. The damage has been almost equal in all the other churches of the city, which are sixty-four in number, counting the public chapels and the hospitals.

What augments our regrets is that the grandeur and magnificence of the greater part of these edifices could be favorably compared with the most superb of this age. Most of these churches contained immense treasures, either in pictures or in vases of gold and silver, ornamented with pearls and precious stones, which were rendered still more valuable by the beauty of the workmanship.

It was remarked that, in the ruins of the Parish Church of Saint Sebastien, they found the sun overturned upon the ground, outside of the Tabernacle, which remained closed, without the Holy Host being at all injured. The same thing happened in the Church of the Orphans, — the sun shattered, the crystals broken, and the Host entire.

The cloisters, the cells of the Religious Houses of both sexes, are entirely ruined and uninhabitable. At the College of Saint Paul, of which I have already spoken, the new buildings, and those which were about being finished, were filled with cracks, while the old main buildings are in a much worse state. The House of the Novitiates, their church and their private chapel, are entirely levelled with the ground. The Professor's House is also uninhabitable. One of

our Fathers, having leaped from a window, in the fear of being crushed under the ruins of the church, has broken his arm in three places. The larger edifices in their fall crushed the smaller ones, so that the materials and ruins filled almost all the streets of the city.

In the excessive terror which had seized on the inhabitants, each one sought safety in flight; but some were at once buried under the ruins of their houses, while others, running out into the streets, were crushed by the falling walls. Some by the successive shocks were carried from one place to another, and escaped with some slight bruises; while there were some who actually owed their safety to the impossibility of changing their places.

A magnificent triumphal arch had been erected on the bridge of the Marquis de Villagunera, the last viceroy of these provinces, and on its height had been placed an equestrian statue of Philip V. This work, so striking from the majesty and the richness of its architecture, has been entirely overturned and reduced to powder. The palace of the Viceroy, which in its vast circumference included the halls of the chancery, the tribunal of accounts, the royal chamber, and all the other jurisdictions attached to the government, has been so entirely destroyed that nothing remains of it. The Tribunal of the Inquisition, its magnificent chapel, the Royal University, and all the other edifices of any mark, now have remaining only the sad vestiges of what they once had been.

It is a sad spectacle and one which touches us even

to tears, to see in the midst of these horrible ruins, all the inhabitants reduced to take up their abode on the public squares or in the gardens. We do not know but what they will be obliged to rebuild the city in some other place, although its original location was, without doubt, the most convenient for commerce, extending a sufficient distance inland, and yet not being too far removed from the sea.

One thing which most excites our compassion is the sad situation of the Religious Orders, who suddenly find themselves without any asylum, and who, having scarcely any thing but rents derived from different houses in the city, have in an instant lost the little property they had for their subsistence. They have no other resource but the sympathy of their relatives or the charity of the faithful. The ecclesiastical authority has given them permission to avail themselves of it, and has granted them all the dispensations necessary for this purpose. The Recollettes alone have been willing to remain in their ruined monastery, trusting themselves to divine Providence.

At the House of the Carmelites of Saint Thérèse, of twenty-one members of the Order, twelve were crushed, together with the prior, two lay brothers, and four servants. At the Conception, two members of the Order were killed; but only one at the grand Convent of the Carmelites. At the House of the Dominicans and the Augustines, thirteen of the Order were killed; two at the House of the Franciscans, and two at that of Mercy. It is surprising, from the large number of members in all these communities, that the number of deaths was not greater.

At our novitiate we have had many slaves and servants crushed ; but none of the Fathers at the different Houses have lost their lives. It appears that the Benedictines, the Minims, the Fathers Agonisans, and the Brothers of Saint John de Dieu, have been equally blessed. At the Hospital of Saint Anne, founded by the first Archbishop of Lima for the benefit of the Indians of both sexes, seventy of the patients were crushed in their beds by the fall of the beams. The total number of deaths amounts to nearly five thousand. This is certified by the account, which seems to be the most reliable of any that we have received, because it has an evident air of truthfulness, and in other respects, in its different details, it is more perfectly in accordance with all that has been written with regard to this country.

Among the dead there are scarcely any persons of rank. We must, however, mention Don Martin de Olivade, his wife and daughter, who, having abandoned their house, were caught in the street under an extensive wall at the moment that it fell. Don Martin managed to disentangle himself from the ruins ; but when he learned that his wife, whom he tenderly loved, was crushed, he died of grief. A singular circumstance, and which seems to add to the sadness of this occurrence, is that this gentleman would not have perished if he had not sought to place himself in a situation of safety, and he would not have suffered any evil if he had remained at home,—his home being one of the few which were not overthrown.

It was impossible to inter all the dead in con-

secrated ground. They did not dare to go near the churches, from the fear caused by the fresh shocks which succeeded each other. They therefore at first dug trenches in the public places and in the streets. But promptly, to remedy this irregularity, the Viceroy has convoked the Brotherhood of Charity, which, aiding the governors of the police, undertook to carry the dead bodies to all the secular and regular churches, and discharged this perilous duty with such extreme diligence as, in a great measure, to free the city from the infection with which it was threatened. This work cost many their lives, on account of the stench of the dead bodies ; and it was feared, with reason, that all this would be followed by severe sicknesses, and perhaps by a general pestilence, because more than three thousand horses or mules had been crushed and died, whom it was impossible at once to dig out. Add to this the fatigue, the hardships, the hunger which must be suffered during the first days, every thing being in confusion, there being no mill nor any storehouse of provisions which had been preserved.

But where this evil was incomparably more severe was at the port of Callao. The earthquake was felt there with the greatest violence at the same hour that it was at Lima. At first, there were only some towers and a portion of the ramparts which resisted the shock. But half an hour afterwards, when the inhabitants began to breathe again and to look around them, suddenly the sea rose, lifted itself to a prodigious height, and fell with a horrible noise upon the land, engulfing all the large ships which were in port,

sweeping the small ones above the walls and the towers, even to the other end of the city, overturning all the houses and churches, and drowning all the inhabitants. The result is that Callao is now only a confused mass of gravel and sand, so that one can scarcely distinguish the place where the city was situated. Only two large gates, and some portions of the wall of the ramparts, are now remaining.

They counted at Callao six houses of the Religious Orders, — one of the Dominicans, one of the Franciscans, one of the Order of Mercy, one of the Augustines, one of the Jesuits, and one of Saint John de Dieu. There were at that time, at the House of the Dominicans, six of the members of their Order from Lima, all persons of distinguished merit, who were occupied in the Services of the Octave, established some years since to make particular confession to the Lord. The Franciscans had also at their House a large number of their brethren from Lima, who had come to receive the Commissary-General of their Order, who was expected to land the next day. All these members of the Orders perished miserably; and, of all those who were in the city, the only one saved was Father Arizpo, an Augustine friar.

The number of deaths, according to the most authentic accounts, was about seven thousand, as many citizens as strangers; and there were only about a hundred persons who escaped. I have, indeed, received one letter, in which it is stated that, by the exact researches which Don Joseph Marso y Velasco, Viceroy of Peru, caused to be made, they judged that

the number of deaths, including both Lima and Callao, exceeded eleven thousand.

It was stated, by some of those who were saved, that many inhabitants of this last city, having seized on planks, floated for a long time on the water; but the shock and the force of the waves cast the greater part of them bruised against the rocks. They related also that those who were in the city, seeing themselves suddenly surrounded by the waters of the sea, were overcome by such a panic that they were unable to find the keys of the gates which gave them exit on the side of the land. After all, even if they had been able to open these gates, what would have been the result of this precaution, except to cause them to perish the sooner, by giving entrance to the waters, and allowing them to penetrate to every part? Some of those who were swept above the walls succeeded in reaching some vessel. Among these, Father Yguanco, of our Society, managed to gain a vessel called the "Assembro," the boatswain of which, touched with compassion, made every effort to save him. But towards four o'clock in the morning, a new overflow of the sea succeeding, and the anchors having been broken, the ship was cast with violence into the midst of Callao, and the Jesuit there perished.

During the intervals, when the waters were ebbing, they heard the lamentable cries, and often the voices, of the Ecclesiastics and members of the Religious Orders, earnestly exhorting their brethren to commend themselves to God. Too much praise cannot be given to the heroic zeal of Father Alphonse de Lopios, Ex-

Provincial of the Dominicans, who, in the midst of this frightful disorder, seeing an opportunity to save himself, refused to avail himself of it, saying, "What more favorable opportunity to reach heaven can I find than by dying to aid these poor people, and for the salvation of so many souls?" He has been included in this wide-spread wreck, while discharging the duties of his ministry with a charity so pure and disinterested.

As the waters extended more than a league beyond Callao, most of those who had taken to flight in the direction of Lima were swallowed up in the middle of the way by the waves which surrounded them. There were at that time in the port twenty-three vessels, great and small, nineteen of which went to the bottom, and the four others were stranded high up on the land. The Viceroy having despatched a frigate to ascertain the condition of these vessels, they were only able to save the cargo of the ship "Elsocorro," which consisted of wheat and tallow, and which has been a great relief to the city of Lima. They also attempted to relieve the ship-of-war "Saint Firmin," but found it impossible. In fine, to enable you to comprehend to how great an extent the violence of the sea has been carried, it is sufficient to say that it transported the Church of the Augustines, almost entire, to an island some distance off, where it can since be seen.

There is another island, which they call the Island of Callao, where the convicts are employed in cutting out stone used for building. It was in this island

that the small number of those who escaped the wreck found themselves after the subsiding of the waters ; and the Viceroy immediately sent boats to bring them over again to the mainland.

The loss sustained at Callao is immense, because the great store-houses which supplied the city of Lima with all kinds of necessaries, and which are the principal depots of its commerce, happened then to be unusually crowded with grain, tallow, brandy, cordage, wood, iron, beans, and all kinds of merchandise. Add to these the furniture and ornaments of the churches, which all shone with gold and silver ; the arsenals and royal magazines, which were full, — all these, without counting the value of the houses and ruined edifices, amount to an enormous sum ; and, if to this one adds what was lost at Lima, it would appear incredible to a person who was not acquainted with the degree of opulence in this kingdom. Calculations have been made, that to restore matters to their former condition would cost more than six hundred millions.

During that frightful night which annihilated Callao, the citizens of Lima were in continual alarms on account of the repeated movements which made the earth to tremble about them, and because they saw no end to these constantly recurring shocks. All their hopes centred on the city of Callao, where they flattered themselves they would find an asylum and relief. Their grief, then, sank to utter despair when they learned that Callao no longer existed. The first who brought this news were the soldiers who had

been sent by the Viceroy to learn what had taken place on the coast. Never was there witnessed a consternation equal to that which then spread through Lima. They were without any resource. The earthquakes continued daily ; and it was estimated that, up to the 29th of November, more than sixty shocks had taken place, some of which were very severe. I leave you to imagine, then, in what state their spirits must have been in such strange circumstances.

The day after this sad night, the preachers and confessors dispersed themselves through all quarters, to console, as far as possible, these miserable beings, and to exhort them to profit by this terrible blow by returning to God in penitence. Above all, the Viceroy showed himself, and employed himself without relaxation in consoling the unfortunate citizens under these evils.

We may say that it was a blessing of Providence to have given to Lima, in its affliction, a Viceroy whose character was so marked by zeal, activity, and courage. He exhibited on this occasion superior talents, and qualities of the most distinguished kind. This is a justice which is unanimously rendered to him. Without him, famine would have finished the destruction of the inhabitants who remained. All the provisions which were collected at Callao were destroyed ; all the ovens were demolished at Lima ; and all the water-pipes for the mills were choked up.

In this extreme peril, the Viceroy did not lose his self-possession. He sent to all the bailiffs of the neighboring provinces orders to forward, as soon as

possible, the grain which they found there. He assembled all the bakers. He caused the work to go on, day and night, in placing the ovens and the mills in a proper state. He adopted means to repair the canals, aqueducts, and fountains, that there should be no failure in the water. He took precautions that the butchers should furnish meat as usual. And he charged the two consuls to take in hand the execution of all these orders.

In the midst of so many cares, he did not neglect what regarded the service of the king. After having caused to be collected from under the ruins all the arms which could be secured, he sent officers to Callao to save, as far as possible, the royal effects ; and he placed guards at the bank, to secure the gold and silver there from pillage.

As he had received notice that the shores were covered with dead bodies which remained unburied, and that the sea was each moment throwing up a prodigious quantity of furniture, and vessels of gold and silver, he immediately gave orders to have the bodies interred. He directed that the officers should retain in their possession whatever effects were of any value, and that they should keep an exact register of them, so that each one should be able to recognize what belonged to him. It was forbidden, under penalty of death, to appropriate any thing which might be on the shore ; and, to enforce obedience on this important point, he directed two gibbets to be erected at Lima, and two at Callao : and a few wholesome examples of severity caused every one to respect these ordinances.

After the loss of the garrison at Callao, the Viceroy had but a hundred and fifty soldiers of the regular army, with as many of the militia. However, he did not neglect to double all the guards, to repress the insolence of the people, and particularly of the negroes and the slaves. He organized three different patrols, who constantly went their rounds through the city, to prevent the robberies, quarrels, and assassinations which we had reason to fear during such a state of confusion. One other care he took was to prevent any one from going out on the main avenues to purchase the wheat which was being brought into the city. He gave orders that all the wheat should be first carried to the middle of the Square, under penalty of two hundred blows of the whip for persons of low extraction, and four years' banishment for others. All these arrangements, as wisely devised as they were vigorously executed, resulted in the maintenance of good order.

Nevertheless, on the last day of November, at half past four in the evening, while they were making the procession to Our Lady of Mercy, suddenly a report spread through the whole city that the sea was returning again, having broken its bounds, and had now almost reached Lima. At once, behold all the people on the move! Suddenly they rushed forward. Even the Religious Orders were not excepted, who, in the fear of the next overflow, had not gone forth from their cells: now, flying with the people, each one thought of nothing but saving his life. The crowd of fugitives increased the panic. Some rushed to-

wards Mount Saint Christophe, and others towards Mount Saint Barthelemi, believing that no place was safe. But in this general movement, only one person lost his life. This was Don Pedro Sandro, the Grand Treasurer, who, in attempting to escape, was thrown from his horse and killed.

The Viceroy, who had not received any such news from the coast, comprehended at once that this was nothing but a panic. He purposely, therefore, remained in the middle of the public square, where he had established his residence, endeavoring thus to show every one that they had nothing to fear. As they still continued their flight, he sent the soldiers to stop the people, but it was impossible to arrest them. At last he went himself, and spoke to them with so much authority and confidence that they obeyed at once, and each one returned.

Some monasteries of the Religious Orders, which had incomes from the royal treasury, have appealed to him, representing to him the sad state to which they were reduced. They have prayed him to direct the Governor of the Police to interfere in their defence, that they may be secured from all insult. This demand, with many others of a similar nature, has induced the Viceroy to give orders that there shall be issued a general decree for the most pressing reparations which can be made to place the inhabitants in security. It has even been his desire that plans shall be prepared for the rebuilding of the city; and he proposes, besides, that the houses shall be constructed of sufficient solidity to resist similar earthquakes.

This work has been committed to the charge of M. Godin, of the Academy of Sciences of Paris, who was sent out by the King of France to make observations on the figure of the earth, and who, for some time past, by order of the Viceroy, has occupied the place of Professor of Mathematics at Lima, until he finds an opportunity of returning to France.

What most embarrasses the Viceroy, particularly since we are actually in a state of war, is the Fort of Callao, which is the key to this kingdom. For this reason, after having entirely restored order in Lima, he departed with M. Godin to Callao, to choose a situation for the erection of fortifications capable of arresting an enemy, and to establish sufficient magazines, so that commerce shall not be interrupted.

As for the rest, the earthquake has made equally great ravages in the neighborhood, — on the one side, towards Cannete, and, on the other, as far as Chauca and Guaura. In this last place, the bridge, although very solid, has been destroyed; but, as it is a main avenue for travel, the Viceroy has given orders that it shall at once be rebuilt. We scarcely know yet what has occurred in the places in the neighborhood of Lima and Callao. The relations they will send us will, without doubt, contain the particulars.

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